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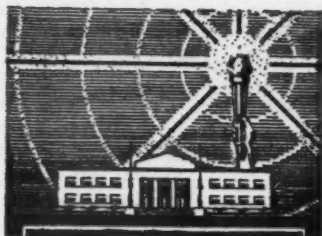
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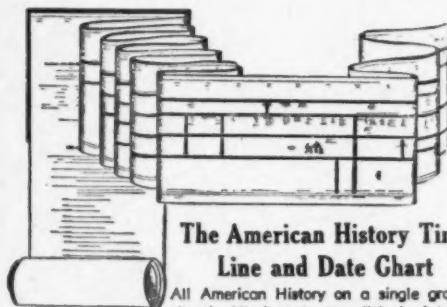
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The Social Studies

VOLUME XLIII, NUMBER 6

Continuing The Historical Outlook

OCTOBER, 1952

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As the Editor Sees It

During the past summer the American people were given another striking example of the vast potentialities of television as a social and political force. Through its eyes millions of citizens saw their first national political convention, just as they had earlier had their first glimpse of international diplomacy at work in the U. N. and seen a large-scale Senate investigating committee tracking down criminals. It is too soon to evaluate all the far-reaching results of these three instances of public-service television, but some are readily apparent. The televised sessions of the Security Council during Mr. Malik's presidency two years ago unquestionably made the menace of Soviet Russia real to many Americans for the first time. What endless columns of writing could not do, the television camera provided when it showed the tactics and peculiar modes of thought of the Politburo in the person of the suave and sinister Malik. The Kefauver Committee hearings brought to millions of ordinary respectable citizens their first actual sight of the underworld, heretofore known to them only in drama, fiction and the newspapers. Certainly the wide-spread public interest in the committee sessions must have contributed greatly to the passage of the Federal gambling tax, one of the few acts of authority which have genuinely disturbed the criminal element in this country. Certainly it was the fact that television enabled the public to dramatize Senator Kefauver as the fearless and incorruptible champion of the right that brought the Senator into the Democratic convention as the most popular candidate.

The people could see, in both conventions, many things that have been hallowed by political custom, but which seem shabby and puerile when brought out on the full stage for all to witness. It is hardly rash to predict that there will be some notable and worthwhile changes in the conduct of future conventions in the direction of increased efficiency and possibly even of popular control.

With these noteworthy examples of the influence of television on public affairs, it is

interesting to speculate on possibilities for the future. The problem of television in government is a complex one. Would the meetings of legislative bodies—local, state or national—be more efficient, more productive and more concerned with the true public welfare if they were televised? Would the public retain its present interest in televised politics if the glamour of such personalities as Malik, Tobey, Costello or Virginia Hill were not on the screen? Would the probable increase in "playing to the gallery" (such as the endless polling of delegations at the conventions) be compensated for by more honest and open dealing in government?

These are questions without a present answer. But they are examples of the kinds of questions that will loom increasingly large. There is something pitiless about the television camera; it seems to bring out much that is hidden in the factual reporting of the newspapers and the posed stills of the photographer. The "big-shot" underworld characters whose names had conjured up in our minds pictures of swaggering ruthlessness seemed to shrink to their true worth before television. Some of the mighty orators of the two parties appeared highly inflated when compelled to put on their acts before millions, while some of the little-known political figures suddenly gained in reputation and stature as their obvious sincerity came alive through the miracle of television. The fact is that much of the real business of politics, as well as of crime, has never been carried on before the great literate middle class; the latter knew of it only what they read. Television may force the practitioners in both fields to alter their methods.

One thing is certain on the basis of the experience we have now had—that where public affairs are conducted in the full view of the nation, literally, the opinions and reactions of the public are crystallized and given far greater force than would otherwise be the case. If the "smoke-filled room" is given a glass wall through which the world can gaze, the handling of our affairs will inevitably be different—and probably better.

The Social Studies

VOLUME XLIII, NUMBER 6

OCTOBER, 1952

Blood Transfusion in Room 223

CHARLES G. SAUERS, JR.

Elgin High School, Elgin, Illinois

It was a course in World History, and the topic for the day was "The Unification of Germany by Bismarck." My youngsters had finally settled down and were ready for the day's work—a look of resignation on their faces. During most of the semester, the daily class work had consisted of reading a certain number of pages in the text and then answering questions on the same. The topics—*The Rebirth of Learning, The Age of Autocracy, The Industrial Revolution*, etc.—interesting to me, had failed to arouse the interest of my teenage charges. On occasion some good discussions had ensued, but these had been the exception rather than the rule. This being the case, it was not hard for me to guess what most were thinking as they sat there before me: "Who is this Bismarck, and what do I care how he unified that place? Darn, another day of reading that dead stuff." On this day they were in for a surprise.

Upon finishing the roll, I did not walk to the board and write down the page assignment as was my custom. Instead, to their astonishment, I passed to each person a freshly mimeographed piece of paper headed with these words:

You are the newly appointed Chancellor of Prussia. You have all the powers of King. It is your ambition to seize all the small kingdoms in the northern part of Germany. How could you best achieve your ambition under the circumstances mentioned below?

Beneath, seven separate groups of fact were listed as follows:

1. Your army is made up of 15 divisions of troops.
2. The peasants of Russian-controlled Poland have just staged an unsuccessful rebellion.

The Russian Tsar has asked you to send back some rebels who fled into your country. Russia has 10 divisions.

3. France is ruled by Napoleon III, a man of conflicting wishes and beliefs. He believes all people of the same blood should live under the same government. He does not want too strong a nation to arise in central Europe for he feels that such a nation might give France trouble in the future. One of his strongest desires is to add a little land to France in order to increase his prestige. France has 15 divisions.
4. Any attempt on your part to seize the north German kingdoms you want would automatically cause Austria to go to war against you. She is jealous of you and doesn't want you to add any more land to your domain. Austria has 11 divisions.
5. The combined armies of the kingdoms you wish to seize amount to 5 divisions.
6. England, an island power, interferes in continental affairs only when the sovereignty of the Low Countries is threatened or when she feels that some power is threatening to conquer all or most of Europe. England has 8 divisions.
7. Eight years ago the people of Italy freed themselves from the control and influence of Austria in a bloody struggle and set up their own nation. However, one Italian-populated province near the north-east corner of Italy is still under the control of Austria which refuses to give it up. Italy has 6 divisions.

The night before I had decided to experiment with the problem-method of teaching, and this was the result.

The initial response of the students to what

they read was a mixture of surprise and confusion. Groans were not absent. This did not dishearten me, however—such a reaction was to be expected considering the strangeness of the assignment. Going ahead as I planned, I told the pupils that today I was placing *them* in the shoes of a certain Prussian Chancellor, that I wished to see how well *they* could solve a problem that had faced Otto v. Bismarck over eighty years ago, that I wanted to see how *shrewd* they were, and so on in the same vein. Having thrown down the gauntlet to them (a necessary part of the method), I set the work-period at thirty minutes, and told them to go ahead and see what they could do.

For the first fifteen minutes, practically all the students worked away diligently—much more diligently than on the days when I had asked them to “read pages X to Y carefully.” For a second I thought this condition might last right up to the end of the work-period, but it did not. At about the midpoint, various students began stopping work on the problem so that during the last half of the work-period only about 60% of the students were actually working hard on the problem. A quick tour of the room showed that the idle 40% were not early finishers as I had hoped, but people who had done little or nothing on the problem. As disappointing as this was, it did not cause me to stop the experiment—I wanted to see how much discussion participation there would be even with 40% automatically excluded. Besides the 60% who were working were working much harder and with more interest than usual.

The discussion that followed the work-period was among the best we had had all semester. Three or four students eagerly gave their solutions at the onset, followed later by about five others who were willing to criticize something they had heard or suggest a better way to gain the friendship of this or that country. Vigorous debates broke out from time to time as students disagreed on how France, England, or Russia should be won over. All in all, about ten out of the class of twenty-five participated—a figure which loomed large to me since the usual thing was for two or three prize students to carry the whole discussion burden alone. As for the solutions themselves, in general, they failed to

match Bismarck's in consummate skill. Only one pupil came up with one that was identical to the Chancellor's. Most of the students had the idea that it was necessary to get the troops of *all* the major powers on their side—an idea which, if carried out, would have forced Prussia to split the spoils of war into too many parts. Bismarck sought the active help of Italy only, merely seeking guarantees of neutrality from the others. At any rate, the deficiencies in the youngsters thinking did not bother me, since the main purpose of the assignment was not to test fitness for the diplomatic corps.

After the students had discussed their methods all they could, the cry arose in all parts of the room: “How was it really done?”, “How did Bismarck do it?” indicating that an interest had been created in the subject-matter itself which was perhaps the main purpose of the problem. At this point, I felt free to do what I had hesitated to do before: I walked to the board, wrote down some page numbers, and then turned to the class and said: “If you really want to know the strategy Bismarck used, look over these pages in the text.” The customary groans and looks of resignation which normally followed the appearance of page numbers on the board were not forthcoming, and when the bell rang most of the students were intent on their books.

Later, after the students had left, I congratulated myself on the fact that I had broken away from the routine for a day, and experimented with the problem-approach. There had been more concentration during the work-period, increased participation in the discussion despite the fact that over one-third had not finished the problem, and, to top it off, an interest in the unification of Germany had been created which certainly would not have existed if I had simply had them read the textbook account. I decided that if I began using this new approach in the future, not every day necessarily, but from time to time, world history might actually become an enjoyable thing to my pupils. Future use of the method demanded, however, that I figure out why nearly 40% of the class had stopped work on the problem before they were finished. If this had not occurred, the experiment would have been an even greater success.

One answer came to me, as I recalled that the ones who had dropped out had largely been the slower students—the problem had been *too* challenging for a starter. This became more clear as I restudied the problem sheet. The solution required a welter of traits: Patience, the ability to weigh several factors at one time, confidence coming from past success at solving intricate problems, and an absence of any anxiety at the thought of working with numbers. It was really a college level problem. Probably the average student in viewing the sheet had been bewildered by the vast array of facts in front of him. It is true that there were supposed to be only seven different groups of facts to consider, but the majority of these groups had more than one fact within them. It was likely that most of the 40% had simply not known where to start and had given up after a few half-hearted attempts at solution. Thinking this over, I decided that in the future it would be wiser to make the problems easier, at least until the students became used to working them.

A second observation made was that a few of the youngsters had stopped work on the question, not because it was too hard for them, but because they found it more interesting to talk over other things with some person next

to them. This was largely a result of the way the work-period had been set up. Just before it started I announced that if anyone found it absolutely necessary, he could work on the problem with a neighbor, a ruling which close to half took advantage of. The temptation to talk idly with the person they were ostensibly working with proved too much for a few, especially when they knew that their work was not going to be checked and graded like a test. In other cases, the permission to work together was a help rather than a hindrance. Several students who had become stalled were started on their way again through a "lead" from a neighbor. After considering both sides of the question, I resolved not to prohibit group work in the future as long as the main purpose of the assignment was not to test the individual reasoning power of the students; but I did resolve to separate those pupils who abused the privilege.

Making a mental note of these things, I began to write on the paper in front of me: "PROBLEM II—You have successfully seized the small kingdoms of the North. Your ambition is now to get the kingdoms of the southern part of Germany into your union. What method would you use under the following conditions . . ."

Political Choice and the Lesser Evil

HAROLD H. PUNKE

Alabama Polytechnic Institute, Auburn, Alabama

Many Americans consider it a fascinating pastime to make derogatory comments about public officials—to refer to them *en masse* as "worthless politicians"; deceitful, dishonest, unethical, conniving. Too few of these self-styled critics ask themselves why officials or politicians, either those in office at the particular time or those turned out at the last election, fail to adhere more closely to the doctrines or foster the measures which the critics say constituted the election issues. Rather than search for the answers to such questions through an analysis of the American political system, or through a study of the problems of a particular

official in trying to develop a program which allows some harmony among the conflicting groups which his office is intended to serve, such critics often assume an attitude of resignation—implying that after all not much for the public good can be expected from a "bunch of crooks and politicians," that few if any public officials can be trusted to act primarily for the public good, and that elections at best offer only a choice of the lesser of two or more evils. While his safety valve is open, such a critic might conclude by thanking God that he lives in a country where there is *still* enough freedom that he can say what he thinks—a

testimony to the luxury afforded by a political system which allows every man to be an open critic of his "masters," a luxury which is denied the people of many lands.

Few persons would maintain that all politicians are geniuses or that they are free from error. Since their activities are mainly before the public eye, however, their errors are likewise in public view. It is sometimes said, facetiously or otherwise, that the physician buries his mistakes in the cemetery and thus keeps them from view, and that the architect can hide his errors with trees and vines. Perhaps the best that the politician can hope for by comparison is that if he vigorously attacks some weakness of his opponent the voters will forget about his own mistakes. If the critics and ridiculers of politicians were in general more mature in political outlook, they would realize that much of their unfavorable comment regarding politicians should be directed toward themselves. If they analyzed the nature of political organization in this country, or the responsibilities attached to specific public offices, they would observe that many of their assumptions are unwarranted and many of their expectations impossible.

In a society with a diversity of social and economic interests such as prevails in most regions of the United States, it is fortunate that public officials of the region are seldom elected by a single faction or group. If one group clearly dominated all others in voting strength, we would probably get more poor legislation than we do. However the expectation that a particular official is to represent a diversity of interests, as assumed in the American political system, greatly complicates his task—with results which may confuse and disappoint his constituents. Some of the reasons for this situation should be examined.

In most communities in this country there is a diversity of interest and opinion regarding practically any social situation that appears. Where a group of people live for a considerable time under a particular form of social organization, individuals who have followed specific vocations develop long-range interests in preserving or improving the status of their group—and develop techniques for doing so. The same applies to non-vocational groups. Thus a

variety of minor groups emerge. Since individuals tend to think of status in relative terms, the aspect of status in which the members of each group are often most interested is status *relative to* other individuals or groups rather than status measured on some absolute scale.

It is at the point described that important conflicts occur among minor groups and that the politician as a compromiser can be most creative. Many of these minor groups are petty, provincial, and shortsighted in the sense that they cannot understand the interests of other groups similar to their own, or understand that it is as reasonable and just for the others as for themselves to have narrow and selfish interests to promote. When status is conceived in relative terms, no one group can improve its status *relative to others* without a corresponding decrease in the *relative* status of one or more of the other groups. Improvement in status of the first group can thus be considered an advantage which it gains over others—and which the others are likely to resent and try to prevent or overcome. Hence conflicts among minor groups arise.

Politicians and candidates for office often commit themselves only in general terms—on election issues. There may be both strength and weakness in this practice. Any principle that is intended to govern all situations that might arise in a particular field of human relationships must be stated in somewhat general terms. The same is of course true of governing principles in the natural sciences or elsewhere. A general statement of principle has the strength of inclusiveness and elasticity. Many specific situations can be brought under it through "extension" or "re-interpretation." However, if a principle or regulation is detailed and specific in describing or enumerating situations to which it applies, it is probably interpreted as covering only those specifics. In a complex society unforeseen situations are certain to arise. If the statement of principle is general, many new situations can be accommodated under it. But if the statement is specific, the new situation is likely to demand a new statement or new law.

Two difficulties accompany the general commitments. They allow politicians considerable leeway within which to exercise public power

and use public resources to promote their personal interests or the interests of close friends. The extent to which such leeway is undesirable from the standpoint of public concern depends on the insight and integrity of the politician. If a candidate or an elected official is stupid, or is more limited in pertinent information than a substantial proportion of his constituents, it is probably well for his action in a legislative body or in an administrative situation to be directed in detail by the electorate. However if there are few other persons in the group who have a scope of information and insight equal to his, detailed direction and control will likely handicap the candidate in trying to serve the group intelligently. If the integrity of the politician is questionable, the net result may be much the same whether he is stupid or wise—although there will probably be differences in the particular ways in which the public welfare suffers.

Perhaps the major difficulty which accompanies general statements or commitments by politicians arises from the varied ways in which those statements are interpreted by different minor groups. Voters who have followed a particular vocational or other interest for some time have more information about and tend to think more in terms of that interest than of other areas of human concern. This is psychologically inevitable. Hence to them the statement *means* the way it will affect them. Often their evaluation of it goes no further—it does not include an estimate of possible ways in which their opponents might interpret the same statement. A further point is noted. Since most minor groups are interested in improving their status *relative* to other individuals or groups, the interpretation made by a minor group is likely to be quite favorable to itself. This too has strong psychological anchorage. When various minor groups arrive at interpretations of party platforms or other general political commitments in a manner similar to that described, conflict among expectations is certain.

The public official faces such conflict among the expectations which constituents attach to his party or his campaign pledges—as well as to the duties and responsibilities of his office generally. When groups have such conflicting

expectations, the only way in which any one group can get all it wants or expects is for opposing groups to be liquidated—so far as political effectiveness is concerned. Since the elected official is expected to represent all of his constituents, it is one of his major responsibilities to prevent such liquidation. The only way the liquidation can be prevented, while some effort is made at changing existing conditions, is through compromise.

When a compromise is reached it will certainly not include everything that *any* minor group desired. It is equally certain that the compromise will include items which are offensive to one or more groups—with the particular item which is offensive varying from one group to another. For each minor group, however, the compromise offers a better arrangement than any alternative which would be acceptable to the other groups. Hence for each minor group the compromise reached represents the lesser of the various evils that are available as possible alternatives.

The more differentiated and specialized our vocational and other groups have become, the more extensively our social fabric becomes broken up into fragments. These fragments or special interest groups, often become highly organized. They may be professional organizations, business and financial associations, labor unions, religious sects, agricultural organizations, or other groups. A large proportion of the membership of such organizations usually consists of well-intentioned men and women who are conscientiously interested in the general public good—but who insist on being good in their own special way and who imply that nobody could be equally good in any other way. Insistence by each of several such groups that it alone has the true light, creates an impossible situation for any public official. Often these groups are not as public-spirited, however, as the foregoing comment suggests. Frequently they develop budgets, lobby strength, and “educational” programs through which to heighten morale among their own members and to strike with centralized power to further selfish ends.

The more numerous and the more tenacious these specialized groups become, the more difficult it is to provide the regulations neces-

sary to keep the social structure from disintegrating. These regulations constitute the bridges across the canyons between the congealed blocks of organized interests. It is the politician's job to build these bridges and to see that they are kept functional.

Hence politicians, more perhaps than the members of other population groups, are concerned with improving the status of all legitimate vocational and other groups in society as a whole—rather than with improving the status of some particular group *relative* to others. The politician is able to activate this concern largely through distilling the elements of fact and social justice out of the variety of biases which different minor groups set forth. On the basis of the distillate it is often possible to formulate a program which represents improvement over current practice—as judged by community welfare in general. From the standpoint described, it is when the social skill of political compromise has become a smooth working art that man should be near his best as a developer of human progress. Perhaps this stage of development is illustrated when the politician is at the level of requiring by law behavior which is for the public good, although the behavior required is more difficult and demanding on himself or his personal friends than on the people as a whole.

Some students have hazarded a ranking of the skills that are essential in a modern industrial democracy. In such a ranking perhaps the activities of unskilled labor in its most natural or primitive form could be considered lowest in the scale—as we continue to depend on the products of such labor for many everyday necessities. Skilled labor is that in which considerable "know-how" is passed on from generation to generation through persistent observation by youth, extended apprenticeship, or organized educational programs. Further along lie the technologists and professional workers. For training and for the development of skills in these areas, modern industrial societies have established technical institutions and professional schools at the college and graduate levels. During the past few decades much social effort has been invested by this country and other Western nations in expanding institutions for developing skills at this level. Another level

of skill should be recognized—the social skill in securing coordination among the various specialized professional and other vocational groups in our society, along with groups organized around non-vocational interests. It is in the mastery of social skills that the creative politician and the effective administrator must be competent. Within the area of social skills, as within each of the other skill areas characterized, various sub-levels can be differentiated.

We are only now entering an era when effort is made to set up formal educational programs for developing the simpler of the social skills. The social skills and related characteristics which are essential for the creative public servant have not been sufficiently stated by students in the field, or sufficiently recognized by the public, for formal requirements in training and experience to be set up before one can become a practising politician—as requirements are set up for one to become a practitioner in medicine, pharmacy, law, school teaching, or in any one of numerous other fields. Hence for developing the social skills needed by the politician we continue to rely primarily on the wasteful techniques of the school of experience. The longer an industrial democracy relies primarily on this school to develop the social skills needed by its politicians, at a time when a growing technology and a broadening area of research in natural science rapidly widen the base of vocational differentiation and specialization, the more confused and mediocre our political leadership is likely to appear.

If the American people in general better understood the nature of the political process in an industrial democracy, and understood the nature of the problems facing the politician, they could be more helpful in the criticisms which they make of public officials. In many instances they could also be more intelligent in their efforts to revise the procedures by which we get our candidates for public office—after party candidates are designated, according to present systems, it may be too late to be very optimistic about the public welfare during the ensuing term of office. In the meantime it will continue to be stupid, and to constitute a sterile pastime, for voters or persons who are considered leaders in some aspect of community life to make wholesale references to public

officials as lazy, dishonest, conniving, or "scurvy" politicians. Probably most public officials work harder at their jobs of trying to serve the public interest than average citizens work at their respective callings. Too often the few public officials who are dishonest or unscrupulous are given the headlines and are regarded by uninformed and unwary voters as being typical. Perhaps most of the laziness involved in our political system is the laziness of the voter himself in failing to develop an understanding of democratic political processes and of the issues involved in particular elections, in failing to secure information concerning specific platforms and candidates, and in failing to exert themselves mildly so as to get to the polls on election day.

Among the things which Americans in gen-

eral need to understand better is the fact that the result of a political compromise does not set forth the program of anybody in particular. Perhaps no contending group would own it—even as a stepchild. The more complex our society becomes, and hence the more intricate the pattern of relationships among special interest groups, the more remote the compromise is likely to be from the program that any particular group would consider to be in line with its interests. When such groups think of the programs which they advocate as embodying clear statements of the positive good, as most such groups do, they are likely to think of the compromise as a "lesser evil" rather than as a positive or constructive good. It seems likely that this will increasingly be the situation in American political relationships.

Georgetown is Saved from the British!

FROM THE DIARY OF MRS. WILLIAM THORNTON, 1814

S. A. WALLACE

Washington, D. C.

Like her friend Dolly Madison, Mrs. Anna Marie Brodeau Thornton kept a diary, and the diaries of these two ladies now furnish the historian with the only eye-witness accounts of the burning of their new city of Washington. For nearly seventy years Mrs. Thornton kept a diary, but paper was scarce and at times she wrote on small advertising calendars in a tiny script which became illegible as she grew older. Fortunately when she fled from Washington, her friend furnished her with several sheets of tablet paper, and she could write clearly.

Varied experiences had made Mrs. Thornton calm and wise. At the age of fifteen she had been married to a Quaker from the Virgin Islands, Dr. William Thornton, twice as old as she herself. From her home in Philadelphia, she learned and traveled Doctor took his young bride to the Virgin Islands for two years. On their return they lived in New York, in Philadelphia, and in Baltimore for a while.

As an aide to General Washington, Dr. Thornton won his friendship. Thornton was made the architect of the Capitol building, and later

commissioner of patents. He was often called into President Washington's Cabinet meetings.

Though he had studied medicine in the capitals of Europe, the Doctor did not serve as a physician in the yellow fever or smallpox epidemics. He busied himself largely in trying to sell off the land granted him in payment for his plan of the Capitol building; he had a race track, and a farm at Bethesda. He had designed Tudor Place, the Octagon House, and Brentwood. He had taken out eight patents for his own inventions.

The Thorntons entertained extravagantly; there were grand dinners, teas, and receptions. Even when war came, the ladies thought Washington and Georgetown too small for an attack.

To the cares of a large household, with many visiting relatives, friends, and politicians, Mrs. Thornton, while she superintended the slaves and laborers, added the duties of secretary and accountant for her husband. At night she must play and sing for him and his friends, or read aloud after backgammon. Her line-a-day diaries were, therefore, often neglected.

To the historian the names in the diary for 1814 are all familiar. James Madison was President; James Monroe, Secretary of State; General Armstrong, Secretary of War; General Winder, in charge of the troops at Bladensburg; and John Rodgers was to drive Admiral Cockburn out of the river.

In dread of malarial fevers from the swamps and marshes of the Potomac, the well-to-do left Washington regularly every summer. When the news of British gun boats approaching reached the capital, all who could seize any conveyance piled into it their family and goods and fled westward in the heat of August, 1814.

The numerous city officials at first gave conflicting orders; then, believing any defense hopeless, they sought to save their own families, and fled with the rest to the interior.

Like Dolly Madison, Mrs. Thornton was among the last to leave, and she got but a few miles away. She too seems to owe her escape partly to her own exertions.

The quotations from her diary leaves will begin here with:—

1814

August 18

Our troops marched over the Eastern Branch.

August 22

Mrs. Cutts and Forrest went away. The President went to the camp this evening with Mr. Armstrong, etc.

August 23

Dr. T. went to day with Mr. Cutts and Mr. Rt. Forrest, intending to go to the Camp near the Wood Yard but met the President and suite, and Dr. T. and Mr. C. went with them to dine at Mr. Williams' near Bladensburg. Dr. T. rode reconnoitering with Col. Monroe, Mr. Chas Carroll Rush, and Ringgold, and returned at midnight. Mr. and Mrs. Cutting slept here. Had the horses harnessed ready to go off as we had several accounts that the enemy were near Bladensburg. Our troops all came over the bridge again. This, as since proved, was a great error in Winder and all engaged, for if they had had correct information, they would have known they were not marching towards the bridge, and instead of crossing into the City that night (which gave the troops an opportunity of dispersing), they ought to have sent a small party to

destroy only the end of the bridge of the further side, and then got their army into proper order in the neighborhood of Bladensburg, by which way only they could enter the City. Instead of this the troops were marched off their legs, were even late in the day in various parts of the City, and were hastily gathered together to meet a regular force, who tho' likewise fatigued, had a regular plan, had discipline, and a desperate attempt to make to succeed in a plan both bold and hazardous, and it is the general opinion that if the force we had, tho' inexperienced, had been judiciously arranged, the enemy might have been cut off or taken. It was not even attempted to rally them but they were ordered to retreat, first to the Capitol; then over the little falls bridge, and finally it was changed to Montgomery Court House, a distance of 22 miles. And the baggage waggons sent a different route over the Potomac Bridge.

Wednesday, August 24

No accounts at 10 this morning of the course of the Enemy. Almost all our acquaintances gone out of town; nearly all the moveable property taken away—offices shut up, and all busines at a stand. We heard rumors that the armies had engaged, and expected to hear the cannon &c, but heard nothing. At last saw a man riding as hard as possible towards the President's house. We went up soon after and found that Mrs. M. was gone. We sat down to dinner but I could eat nothing, and we dilly dally'd till we saw our retreating army come up the Avenue. We then hastened away, and were escorted out of town by our defeated troops. Gen'l Washington's picture and a cart load of goods from the President's House in company. (It was supposed that Mr. Custis got some of the soldiers to take out this picture.) When we got to the upper part of George T, we met Mr. Richards, who advised us not to proceed up the road as it was crowded with troops &c, and that there was a rumor that the British were to head them that way and give them battle. Dr. T., having gone round by Mr. Peter's, we did not know what step to take, but decided to go to Mr. Peter's and wait till we could send for him. I sent off John on one of the carriage horses, and he did

not overtake him until he got to Tenny Town, he supposing we were before him. We staid all night at Mrs. Peter's. (Mrs. Cutting with us) and there witnessed the conflagration of our poor undefended and devoted city.

August 25

Dr. T. went to the City, and by his exertions saved the patent office from destruction. They were on the point of setting it on fire, and he represented to the officer (Col. James) that it was the Museum of the Arts, and that it would be a loss to all the world. The War Office was not burned till after breakfast today. The rope walks were burnt. We had a dreadful storm and gust but fortunately accompanied with rain. The weather fortunately through all the fires was very calm, but it appears almost miraculous that the whole place was not burned. But great pains was taken by the English not to injure private property. It is feared that very little property has been saved out of the President's House. Dr. T. returned to dinner and went out at 1/2 after 4 for our farm.

August 26

Dr. T. went to town. We went over to Mr. Bradley's to see Mr. Cutts. We there heard from Mr. Johnson that the enemy had left the City. Dr. T. did not return till late in the evening. He had been exerting himself to prevent the property left in the ruins of the Navy Yard, Capitol, P.H., and Executive office from being pillaged, and getting guards of the English and Citizens appointed to patrol, and sending carts to our wounded men who were still on the Common. He brought us the disagreeable account that the English are likely to return. They are gone, it is supposed, to Baltimore. They have left behind some wounded men whom Dr. J. Ewell had humanely attended, and Dr. T. directed that the Expenses of Provisions &c. to be charged to him. Never was there such a complete discomfiture of our army. The poor creatures were marched to death on a dreadfully hot day before the engagement began, and then retreated 12 or 13 miles without halting; they were obliged to lay down in the fence corners and anywhere on the road they could, so completely exhausted with hunger and fatigue; they went

to Montgomery Court House as soon as they could.

August 27.

Rain.—It cleared up about noon and we prepared to come to town, as Dr. T. said he must be in town every day. We came in and brought our dinner with us. Mr. Cutts and family came in and many other persons. We were soon alarmed by a heavy cannonading, supposed to be at the Fort Warburton, and about 8 o'clock there was a most dreadful explosion. The firing recommenced in the night. But we slept pretty well notwithstanding. The President is at Mr. Rush's. Much damage is done also by the storm, and it seems as if the elements were conspiring to make the scene and times truly awful. Mr. Richecour called to see us. Mrs. Cutting went home.

August 28, Sunday

High wind and very warm. A general alarm in the City as it is expected the fleet will come up and the sailors be let loose to plunder and destroy. Dr. T. set out to go to Bladensburg but returned. The President, Monroe, and Rush stopped at Mr. Cutt's door. I lent Mr. M. a spy glass. The people are violently irritated at the thought of our attempting to make any more futile resistance. Our stupid Mayor (Blake), is now tagging after the President,—he ran away in the hour of danger. Dr. T. followed the President and party to tell them what the people said. They did not appear pleased at it, said they would hear of no deputation and that the people must all arm. Dr. T. came home and distressed us more than ever by taking his sword and going out to call the people and to join them. Mrs. Thomson called much agitated at the state of things. Dr. T. returned and we were quieted. It is supposed they will not come up here at all. It sounded very bold to say that they would not surrender after we were conquered and the public property laid in ruins. Mr. Richecour called. Mrs. M. came to Mrs. Cutts in a [illegible] carriage. Mr. Madison, Monroe, &c. dined there. Mr. Forrest dined here. Sent dinner over to Capt. David Crawford. Dr. T. went to Bladensburg to visit a Col. Thornton who is wounded there (English officer, namesake). Mrs. Smith and family came in and

staid to tea. We stepped in to see Mrs. Madison; she was very violent against the English and wished we had 10,000 such men as were passing (a few troopers) to sink our enemy to the bottomless pit.

The Secretary of State said they were all damned rascals from the highest to the lowest.—Mr. Monroe.

She had better attribute the loss of her palace to the right cause, viz, want of proper defense in time. Mr. Fairfax came. They are going to take flour and tobacco from Alexandria, and it is not thought they will come up here. Dr. T. came home late and then rode to George Town to see Mr. Crawford about taking a stage to Bladensburg for Mr. Barton, Mr. Barclay's secretary, who is ordered off by the great Genl Mason.

August 29, Monday.

We spent a quiet night. Alarms today of the vessels coming up. Many persons moving away again that had come in. We rode to Mrs. Cuttings and the Capitol Hill, to the Bank, but it was shut up. Account of the Capitulation of Alexandria, which if correct, is truly humiliating. Mrs. M. said she supposed they would not be up to night as the slaves of Alexandria were too busy carrying burdens for them, and that they ought to have suffered their town to be burnt rather than to submit to such terms. But they had no defense.

August 30

We had another quiet night, and hope the enemy will not pay us a second visit. Dr. T. and Mr. Fairfax have gone to see Mr. Tayloe, who is unwell at O'Neill's. Mr. Clagget came and wished Dr. T. to assist him in trying to take some steps to release Dr. Beanes of Marlboro, who is taken prisoner. Dr. T. went to see Genl Mason and Col. Monroe. They promised to attend to it. Mr. Forrest also went to Mason, and he was promised a flag of truce to go tomorrow morning. Mrs. F. came to town and returned after dinner. The President and Lady being next door, we were guarded at night by 11 horsemen of Col. Graham's troop. Mr. Robinson, one of the men, they laid on straw near the house.

August 31, Wednesday

Another quiet night. Dr. T. rode to the Navy Yard. Our waggon came down with

oats &c. They are beginning to repair the roof of the Patent and the Post Office injured much by the storm. Mama and I rode to Moses Young's to get a book left by Mr. Robert for us and found; then to Mr. Peter's. Great military preparations making now. Rogers has arrived with 6 or 700 sailors. Genl Armstrong is gone, but it is (not?) known whether he is dismissed or not. It is supposed not. The public voice is against him though there does not appear to be good reason to throw all the blame on him. Col. Monroe is now Secretary of State and War and Commander in chief of the District. We rode to George Town and saw many of the troops going off—to the White House in Virginia. It is reported that Adl Cockburn has sent an Express to the fleet at Alexandria to quit as he has done all the harm he intended in our district.

Thursday, 1st of Sept.

The vessels still laying opposite to Alexandria, taking in plunder. Weather hot and calm. Rode to the Navy Yard and Eastern Branch Bridge, which as it has proved, was burnt very unnecessarily, as well as part of our large Potomac Bridge. Mrs. Cutting went with us.

Friday, 2d.

Warm. Nothing new. Rogers, Perry, and Porter laying their heads together to destroy the vessels at Alexandria. Firing heard and some vessels seen burning this evening. Col. Mercer called here. Went in to Mr. Cutts to see the President, did not return here as I expected.

3 Sept., Ther. 87°

Dr. T. went to Mr. Threlkeld's. Calm generally. A small gust of wind and rain about noon. Set out to ride to the point, but returned as we thought it too late. Drank tea at Mrs. Forrest's. Fulton is here also, it is said. Mrs. F. is wound up for the proper pitch for the times by going to Marlboro, where the English in their retreat committed some excesses. But she was particularly roused by seeing her brother's home look like a barracks, as it was, and his being pillaged of the cloaths, horses, &c. Dr. Beans taken a prisoner, in consequence of some busy informant following the English and telling them that Dr. B. was engaged in taking up

some straggling soldiers, this they considered was a breach of his promise of neutrality. They sent back some men who carried him off in the night, hardly permitting him to put on his cloaths. Two or three other gentlemen who were taken at the same time, were liberated, as they had made no promises and were not in the town when they first entered it. A flag is sent by Mr. Skinner from Annapolis. Mr. F. Key accompanies him, also a brother of Mr. Graham's. The President has a nightly guard of 50 militia men. Dr. T. rode to George Town to see Dr. Mease, who called here. Dr. T. received a letter from the Secretary of State desiring him to have the models moved to make room for Congress.

Sept. 4, Sunday. Ther. 89°

After dinner Dr. T. went to Bladensburg to visit Col. Thornton. We went to Mrs. Elzey's, Thompson's, Davidson's.

Sept. 5, Cool.

Dr. Mease called. Dr. T. went with him to the office. Sent and borrowed a bed-pan (from Mr. Nichols, George T.), and sent it by Joe to Col. Thornton. Dr. T. and Dr. Mease went in our carriage to Bladensburg. A terrible cannonading from about 12 o'clock till after sunset with very little interruption. The poor Guards have to stay out in it. Is it customary for guards to lay out on straw! Even dogs have kennels.

Sept. 6. Rain.

The fleet silenced our batteries and got thro': Losses not known yet. Dr. T. went up to Mr. Threlkeld's, staid late in the evening.

Sept. 7.

Dr. T. published in the *National Intelligencer* a statement of his conduct while the enemy were in the City. Dr. T. and Dr. Mease went over to Mr. Custis's. Nothing new today. Many lives lost in the vain attempt to take the Alexandria fleet. Many poor fellows dying of sickness in consequence of fatigue and laying out of nights without tents,—not mercenary troops who made a trade of fighting, but valuable and respectable citizens, many promising young men of genteel families, who never having been accustomed to any fatigue, sink under the unprecedented hardships they have had to

endure. We rode to George Town, came back to tea.

Sept. 8, Thursday, Warm.

Dr. Mease came after breakfast and had a long conversation with Mrs. Cutts and Madison today. They have listened to many misrepresentations and falsehoods concerning Dr. T., and of course are not pleased with him. Mr. Fairfax came to dinner. We went to see the effect of the explosion of the well that had gunpowder put in it to hide it as supposed [at Greenleaf Point, now the War College]. We burnt the buildings at the Point to prevent the enemy from getting the arms, which certainly might have been secured, and they might have given the buildings a chance of being preserved. The enemy spiked a few of the cannon but left them generally standing on their carriages as they found them. They lost a good many men by this accidental explosion, which has made a monstrous cavity at least. The magazine of powder blew up by this explosion, but all the powder was not destroyed. It is generally thought that the Navy Yard and the Point both might have been easily defended if preparations had been made in time. But they did not think they would come.

Sept. 9

Dr. T. went on his mare to the Duvall's. We went to the farm.

Sept. 10

Returned in the afternoon. Dr. T. returned about an hour before us. Nothing new. We must await the approaching session of Congress with some anxiety.

Sept. 19

Congress, in the Patent Office, refused to remain in Washington.

The citizens of Washington were indignant that the officials had made no attempt to protect them. They called on Congress to investigate the conduct of Dr. Thornton, the mayor of George Town, Secretary of War Armstrong, General Winder, and others. Gen. Armstrong resigned; Gen. Winder was retired, and Dr. Thornton too lost political and personal friends by the charges of neglect. Mrs. Thornton wrote little more in her diary on the burning of Washington. Dr. Thornton had hoped to make it the most beautiful capital in the world. England had, at least delayed his dream.

The Teacher and the Social Studies: IV

THE SOCIAL STUDIES TEACHER AND CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY

THEODORE B. JOHANNIS, JR.

The Florida State University at Tallahassee, Florida

RALPH A. BROWN

State University of New York at Cortland, New York

Cultural anthropology as a separate subject in the high school curriculum is almost nonexistent. Only a few junior and senior high school staff members have a competency in this basic social science. Yet, the social studies teacher can gain a great deal from basic anthropological concepts. Much recent literature in the field of cultural anthropology is of value to the teachers of social studies, helpful in creating improved learning situations, and useful to members of society. Let us examine what cultural anthropology has to offer the classroom teacher as he performs his daily functions in the modern school system.

Research in cultural anthropology shows that the behavior of individuals and of groups is to a large measure dependent upon the cultural matrix in which the person matures. A study of such volumes as Margaret Mead's *From The South Seas*¹ and James Plant's *Personality and The Cultural Pattern*² emphasizes the effect of patterns of cultural imposition upon the maturing child. Patterns of human behavior are dependent upon the methods of training and sharing responsibility that the social system fosters to a larger extent than to innate physiological and psychological factors in human development. The teacher who understands the importance of the social factors in the educative process which may be obtained from cultural anthropological materials can do a more effective job in the classroom. The study of a community can give the specifics of the cultural background of the students the teacher has in the classroom. For example, in our family all members eat at the same table at the same time while in the family of our friend of first generation Polish extraction the women eat after the men have finished their meal. What would be the impact of teaching the equality of male and female in the modern American family on a boy from our Polish American family? On a girl? This is an example of a situation where the cultural anthropologist

emphasizes that the teacher needs to understand the culture of the community in which the teaching takes place as much if not more than she needs good teaching methods.

The teacher, who usually is middle-class oriented, finds support in anthropological materials for the fact that social class structure in our American society influences what a student's cultural environment offers in the way of cultural incentives, goals and models with which the student may identify himself during the childhood socialization process. The teacher can use the standards of behavior of the socioeconomic classes represented among her pupils as a foundation stone upon which to build an effective social studies program. For more information in this area see Allison Davis' *Social Class Influence Upon Learning*,³ W. Lloyd Warner's *Democracy in Jonesville*,⁴ and W. Lloyd Warner's *Who Shall Be Educated?*⁵

The teacher of social problems to a twelfth grade class is better able to build a useful course of study when one of the central factors in the causation of problems is analyzed—the conflict arising as cultural contact between people of different sub-cultural groups occurs. For example, we might consider the results of contact between church groups with different and competitive points of view. The teacher of history and international relations has an opportunity to round out the training of students through depth analysis of cultures by using cultural anthropological materials to supplement the standard historical materials. For example, in an American history class he might use a monograph such as Edward Moe and Carl Taylor's *Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community: Irwin, Iowa*,⁶ or while considering the rural Deep South during post-Civil War years he might use a similar study by Waller Wynne called *Culture of a Contemporary Rural Community: Harmony, Georgia*.⁷ With these examples of the application of cultural anthropological materials to teaching, let us examine

some of the central concepts and the recent literature.

ANTHROPOLOGY

Anthropology as the study of man and his works may be subdivided into three areas: (1) physical anthropology or anthropometry, (2) linguistics, and (3) socio-cultural anthropology which is often equated with ethnology and ethnography. The physical anthropologist's main concern is the study of similarity and difference in the physical structure of man. The linguist concentrates on man's language—its structure, function and use in society.

In this paper our central focus is on the third aspect of anthropology or the socio-cultural aspect. Its central approach is the seeking of the origins, history, social patterns, and manner of change in the variable behavior of human beings. There are no sharp lines of distinction between cultural anthropology and its sister disciplines, sociology and social psychology. As will be seen, cultural anthropology draws heavily upon sociology, social psychology, psychology, and of late psychiatry in its attempt to analyze and understand modern socio-cultural phenomena. A general orientation to the field of socio-cultural anthropology may be obtained from such works as Eliot Chapple and Carleton Coon's *Principles of Anthropology*,⁸ John Gillin's *The Ways of Men*,⁹ Melville Herskovits' *Man and His Works*,¹⁰ Alfred Kroeber's *Anthropology*,¹¹ Robert Lowie's *An Introduction to Cultural Anthropology*,¹² Ralph Linton's *The Science of Man in a World Crisis*,¹³ and the same author's *The Study of Man*.¹⁴

SOME CENTRAL CONCEPTS

The core of cultural anthropology revolves about the culture concept. *Culture* may be considered the social heritage of man—a continually changing system of learned patterns for living and the products of these learned patterns such as material objects, attitudes, knowledge, and ways of thinking—learned in contradistinction to the inherited aspects of human behavior. In the study of culture one analyzes individual and group reactions to the many forces which foster *cultural conformity* and *culture change*. These forces place limits upon the possibilities of individual and group choice and thus *structure* or provide the framework for patterns of cultural expression.

Each individual lives in a cultural setting—a body of customs and beliefs which provide a process through which he may adjust to his environment. Take for example Hortense Powdermaker's *After Freedom*,¹⁵ an attempt to show the influence of the cultural environment of the Deep South on the residents of the area. Ruth Benedict's *Patterns of Culture*¹⁶ gives a picture of the folkways and personality among the Zuni, Kwakiutl, and Dobu Indians. Bronislaw Malinowski provides a general orientation to cultural theory in *A Scientific Theory of Culture and Other Essays*¹⁷ while Alfred Kroeber's *Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America*¹⁸ gives a general picture of culture among American Indian groups. The influence of culture on the learning process can be analyzed from materials in Neal Miller and John Dollard's *Social Learning and Imitation*.¹⁹

The single units of a culture or *culture traits* like words, ideas, pens, or ink form themselves into closely interrelated working units called *culture patterns* such as the American congressional system.

ASPECTS OF CULTURAL DYNAMICS

These traits and patterns and the relationships between them are constantly in a state of flux or change as *culture contact* occurs among peoples from different cultural settings. Bronislaw Malinowski's *Dynamics of Culture Change*²⁰ and Alfred Kroeber's *Configurations of Culture Growth*²¹ will aid one's understanding of culture dynamics and change.

One of the fosterers of *culture growth* and change is the process of transfer of cultural elements from one social group to another. This process the cultural anthropologist terms *diffusion* or the study of completed cultural transmission. The *borrowing* of ideas, methods of doing things, and artifacts (material goods) has been the central means through which diffusion has occurred when two cultures have come into contact with one another.

The process by which an individual or group in intimate continuous contact with another culture learns new cultural traits and incorporates them into their own manner of living is called *acculturation* or the study of cultural transmission in process. The immigrant, reared in one cultural setting and adopting patterns

of living of the new culture, is an example of this. Such volumes as Ralph Linton's *Acculturation in the Seven American Indian Tribes*,²² Laura Thompson's *Guam and Its People: A Study of Cultural Change and Colonial Education*,²³ Melville Herskovits' *Acculturation, The Study of Cultural Contact*,²⁴ and William Thomas and Florian Znaniecki's *Polish Peasant in Europe and America*²⁵ are worthwhile in this area of study.

The mutual adjustment between the elements of a culture when they reach a point of dynamic balance—the point where the parts of a culture function in harmony with each other and yet are in the constant flux of change—is termed *integration*. In so far as the customs comprising a culture are consistent the culture is integrated. The extent of cultural integration may be studied in a *culture area* which is a geographical area in which a relatively homogeneous cultural pattern prevails. Such works as Cora duBois' *Social Forces in Southeast Asia*,²⁶ Ralph Linton's *Most of the World: The People of Africa, Latin America, and The East Today*²⁷ and Fay Cole's *Peoples of Malaysia*²⁸ give one a picture of aspects of the growing use of this concept.

RECENT TRENDS AND DEVELOPMENTS:

THE CULTURE CONCEPT

One of the outstanding trends in cultural anthropology has been the shift from the description of cultural phenomena to an analysis of culture which seeks to isolate the fundamental processes shaping the individual and his culture.

Perhaps the central contribution of cultural anthropology in recent years has been the extension and clarification of the meaning and use of the term culture. As a social group's ways of thinking, traditions, customs, tools and the like play a dominant role in the development of the human being and his personality, the study of culture is of central importance in the field of cultural anthropology.

The growth in acceptance of ideas that the culture concept includes has fostered the belief that social group achievements and the so-called superiorities of particular groups rest upon cultural conditioning rather than on inherited biological factors. This has contributed to the decline of the doctrine of racism—the idea of

the innate superiority of one racial or ethnic group over another. Comparative culture and culture area studies have, moreover, fostered the lessening of ethnocentrism by showing that each culture must be evaluated in terms of its own structure and value system. See the works of Cora duBois, Ralph Linton, and Fay Cole mentioned above.

The study of cultural patterns which influence and shape ways of action of members of a society has been fostered by such works as Ruth Benedict's *Chrysanthemum and the Sword*²⁹ which illustrates the influence of Japanese national character on personality formation and Geoffrey Gorer's *The American People: A Study of National Character*.³⁰

One promising area of growth is the interdisciplinary approach of such groups as the Committee on Human Development at the University of Chicago, Harvard University's Human Relations group and Columbia University's research group on contemporary cultures. The gradual assembly of materials from completed studies of the various cultures of the world in Yale University's promising Cross Cultural Survey has produced such volumes as Leo Simmons' *The Role of the Aged in Primitive Society*.³¹

Growth of interest in the contemporary American and Canadian scenes has been fostered by the so-called applied anthropological group. There has been a movement from Robert and Helen Lynd's earlier *Middletown, A Study of Contemporary American Culture*³² and the follow-up study by the same authors entitled *Middletown in Transition*³³ to James West's *Plainville, U.S.A.*,³⁴ A. B. Hollingshead's *Elmtown's Youth: The Impact of Social Classes on Adolescents*³⁵ and the companion volume by Robert Havighurst and Hilda Taba called *Adolescent Character and Personality*.³⁶ The *Yankee City Series*³⁷ by W. Lloyd Warner and others is a study of a modern New England community over a period of ten years and Alexander Leighton's *The Governing of Men: General Principles and Recommendations Based on Experience at a Japanese Relocation Camp*,³⁸ Allison Davis' *Deep South*,³⁹ Horace Miner's *St. Denis, A French-Canadian Parish*⁴⁰ and Everett Hughes' *French Canada in Transition*⁴¹ are others in the applied anthropological group.

These studies are concerned in a large measure with the study of the community and its organization.

THE IMPACT OF CULTURE ON PERSONALITY

Another central development has been the study of the impact of culture on the formation and structure of personality. The list of works that show the influence of the cultural environment on personality structure and development, and the ability of such personality structures to function in varying cultural environments, is long. One of the better general works is Ralph Linton's *The Cultural Background of Personality*.⁴² The symposium edited by Clyde Kluckhohn and Henry Murray called *Personality in Nature, Society, and Culture*⁴³ is classic. Other worthwhile volumes include Allison Davis and John Dollard's *Children of Bondage*⁴⁴ on the personality development of the Negro youth in the urban South and Allison Davis and Robert Havighurst's *Father of Man: How Your Child Gets His Personality*.⁴⁵ Dorothea Leighton and Clyde Kluckhohn's *Children of the People*⁴⁶ is a study of the interaction between personality formation and the acculturation of the Navaho Indian child while Clyde Kluckhohn and Dorothea Leighton's *The Navaho*⁴⁷ depicts the relationship between social structure and personality formation. Wayne Dennis' *The Hopi Child*⁴⁸ illustrates the influence of culture on the growth of the child and Laura Thompson and Alice Joseph's *The Hopi Way*⁴⁹ helps to round out the knowledge of the Hopi culture and its impact on personality formation. Margaret Mead's *Male and Female: A Study of the Sexes in a Changing World*⁵⁰ is provocative. In a lighter autobiographical vein Walter Dyk's *Son of Old Man Hat*,⁵¹ a Navaho autobiography, and Leo Simon's *Sun Chief: The Autobiography of a Hopi Indian*,⁵² provide superior materials.

REFERENCES AND PERIODICALS

Besides the volumes mentioned at the beginning of the article, the most useful general reference is perhaps the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*.⁵³ *The American Anthropologist*,⁵⁴ *Journal of American Folklore*,⁵⁵ *American Antiquity*,⁵⁶ and *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*⁵⁷ are among the better general journals in the field. Those interested in the application of the findings and principles of

cultural anthropology in the American industrial, governmental, and educational areas will find *Human Organization*⁵⁸ (formerly the *Journal of Applied Anthropology*) helpful.

Several journals in the fields of sociology and psychology frequently carry anthropological materials, for example *The American Journal of Sociology*,⁵⁹ *American Sociological Review*,⁶⁰ *Social Forces*,⁶¹ *Journal of Personality*⁶² (formerly called *Character and Personality*), and *Journal of Applied Psychology*.⁶³

The bulletins of the Bureau of American Ethnology such as John Swanton's *Indians of the Southeastern United States*⁶⁴ are valuable reference materials as are the Publications of the Institute of Social Anthropology,⁶⁵ Columbia University Contributions to Anthropology,⁶⁶ Yale Anthropological Studies,⁶⁷ Yale University Publications in Anthropology,⁶⁸ University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology,⁶⁹ Research Series of the Middle American Research Institute,⁷⁰ University of New Mexico Publications in Anthropology,⁷¹ and the University of Chicago Publications in Anthropology.⁷²

¹ New York: William Morrow and Co., Inc., 1939.

² New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1937.

³ Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1948.

⁴ New York: Harper and Brothers, 1949.

⁵ New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944.

⁶ Rural Life Studies, No. 5. Washington, D. C.: Bureau of Agricultural Economics, 1942.

⁷ Rural Life Studies, No. 6. Washington, D. C.: Bureau of Agricultural Economics, 1943.

⁸ New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1942.

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A Student Looks at Junior Town Meetings

JANET HALL

Alloway, New Jersey

"Let us remember what Trygve Lie recently said: 'Many have criticized the United Nations during its short lifetime for not stopping war; something that mankind has been unable to do throughout history. Given time the United Nations will accomplish its goals.'"

"And now that we have heard both the negative and affirmative views of the topic, 'Has the United Nations succeeded in its purpose of maintaining world peace?', we will begin our open question period. Who has the first question? All right, Bill."

"Thank you, Mr. Moderator. I would like to address my question to the affirmative. If you believe the United Nations has succeeded in its purpose of maintaining world peace, why is there still an Iron Curtain?"

Before we knew it, we four high school students got the signal from the control room that the half hour was up. With a sigh of relief when the red light blinked off, we all began to chatter at once. Some of us still argued on the actions

of the United Nations, others compared football teams and bands with the studio audience, who represented eight high schools from South Jersey.

That broadcast of the Junior Town Meeting at Station WSNJ in Bridgeton, New Jersey, was typical of nearly all the broadcasts of the Junior Town Meeting Associations scattered throughout the United States and Canada.

The Junior Town Meeting in Bridgeton was begun in 1946. Because of the willingness and interest of Don Hart, the news director of WSNJ and of the teachers and students of surrounding schools, the Association became successful and even attracted a sponsor. Like most other JTM sponsors, our sponsor, the LeSturgeon Bakery, was not interested in the program merely for the advertising, but as an instrument for the helping of high school boys and girls to understand and interpret the problems of our age. And it has done that.

Either the negative or the affirmative view

of the topic is assigned to the speakers and it is their job to write the speech, do the research for it, read it over the air, and prepare themselves for any questions that might be asked them.

"I didn't believe that the UN was accomplishing anything," admitted the second speaker for the affirmative, "until I began to look for the things that they have done. And I've found that the UN has undertaken many successful projects and that the UN is doing more than we hear about in the newspapers everyday."

The Junior Town Meeting debates have shown those who participate how to discuss, not argue, and also that there are always two sides to every question and each side possesses its share of good and bad points. It's this spirit of tolerance, understanding and democracy that the Junior Town Meeting tries to instill in its members and in very few instances does it fail.

Because local Junior Town Meeting League chapters have made adults realize that we all aren't "Corliss Archers" or "Henry Aldriches" and that we do care and observe what goes on in the world and our communities, the leaders and professional people in the JTM areas are glad to serve as moderators and often request model programs to be performed in their Rotaries, Kiwanis' and other clubs.

The Kiwanis and Rotary programs aren't only tickets to a good meal. They have given a lot of us confidence and experience in public speaking. Most members of the Junior Town Meeting have to be quick thinking and fairly articulate but not necessarily twentieth century Daniel Websters. It's sincerity and belief in what you say that counts. A well-written speech and friendly smiles from everyone can usually quiet the butterflies. After a broadcast or a speech almost everyone feels that the next time will be easier and it makes a speech in front of an English or history class seem like no more than a conversation with friends.

After we all had cokes, we went into another broadcast room for a monthly business meeting. At these meetings we choose topics, elect officers, and decide on future programs. Tonight four radio programs and an assembly program had to be planned.

After the president had called the meeting to order and the secretary had read the minutes

of the last meeting, the meeting was under way.

"Mr. President, I move that on May 14th we discuss 'Should the voting age be eighteen instead of twenty-one in our state?'"

"No," somebody called from the back of the room, "Elections were over long ago. Nobody cares much about that now."

"How many do not want to discuss the voting age? Ann, will you count the votes?" the president asked.

"Nobody wants to talk about that now," Ann said jotting the count in her book.

"How would 'Should strikes be allowed to endanger the nation's welfare?' be for the fourteenth?"

That topic was voted on and accepted and within fifteen minutes and several votes the topics had been selected for the month's broadcasts. They covered a variety of subjects bearing on the school program (Should the schools educate for marriage and family life) to an international question (Should the U. S. try to have the veto power in the Security Council abolished).

The Junior Town Meeting topics are either original with the members or chosen from a list given in "Civic Training," a small news sheet published by the Junior Town Meeting League in Columbus, Ohio.

The Junior Town Meeting League in Columbus is the hub of all the JTM associations in the country. The League was begun in 1944 when the Junior Town Meetings had become so popular that there was a need for an organized association through which schools that were planning to begin their own town meetings could be helped.

The idea of the Junior Town Meeting was first indirectly suggested in a letter from President Roosevelt to the nation's school administrators. The letter said in part: "I have long been keenly interested in public forums and study-discussion groups as democratic means of developing popular understanding of pressing public issues . . . I have in mind . . . enlisting the efforts of the schools and colleges in sponsoring public discussion and study groups."

The following month OUR TIMES, a weekly newspaper for high school students, with co-operation of America's Town Meeting of the

Air, began to publish previews of the Town Meeting's programs and urge its readers to form their own discussion groups. These previews continued for two years until the Junior Town Meeting League was formed.

The results of OUR TIMES' campaign was so good that they began to plan for a radio town meeting in which high school students would be the participants.

The public schools of Toledo, Ohio, agreed to sponsor and play host to this first radio Junior Town Meeting. On the evening of February 26, 1942, America's Town Meeting of the Air was broadcast from the auditorium of De Vilbiss High School in Toledo.

Within two weeks there was so much interest among the teachers and pupils that Toledo radio station WTOL began to broadcast weekly Junior Town Meetings and is still doing so.

Not all Junior Town Meeting groups are small. The Kresge-Newark Junior Town Meeting, which has one hundred and fifty member schools, is one of the largest in the country. The member schools are private, parochial, and public schools, as the directors of that association believe that the JTM is more fun and more beneficial if teenagers from all backgrounds get together to discuss the problems that affect and face all of us.

No high school of any consequence in that area is missing from the list of members. The Wednesday night broadcasts from 8:05 to 8:45 E.S.T. are used as the next day's lesson material in history, English and current events classes and the format of the program is used as a model for classroom discussions.

Mr. Robert MacDougall, director of the educational activities of Station WAAT in Newark, New Jersey, says, "We believe that since life itself is competitive, no harm can come to a student from his being placed in a competitive situation during his adolescence. The decision as to who is judged the best on each program is rendered by a group of fifty teachers and lay people who are interested enough in the students to stay home on Wednes-

days and listen attentively to the broadcasts."

When the winners from four Wednesdays are chosen, a Monday semi-final is broadcasted and the winner is one of the eight finalists in a May contest. The top three finalists received college tuition credit scholarships from Kresge-Newark.

Many students who have received Kresge-Newark Junior Town Meeting scholarships are already graduated from college and are grateful for the chance they have been given, as many of them would not have been able to go on to higher education.

Even though television has been batted back and forth in JTM with such topics as "Are we getting what we want from television" and "Is television working in the public interest?", the Junior Town Meeting has invaded that medium.

"Youth Has Its Say" has been appearing for the past two seasons on Columbus, Ohio, Station WTVN. The format of the program is a presentation of points of view by each of the participants with questions from other members of the panel. However, it differs from most radio programs of JTM because some questions are telephoned in by listeners. The program is sponsored by the Columbus Junior Chamber of Commerce in conjunction with a number of local business firms.

One of the main problems in television is pleasing everyone. Edward Stasheff of New York station WNYE says, "Among the problems which are bound to arise are the youngsters who are too eager to please. Having heard the station people ask for pep they promptly give on the air a caricature of a teen-age riot in the midst of a discussion of Youth and the UN. There is always stations' desire for a wider audience and for pleasing viewers who are conditioned by radio teen-agers."

The Junior Town Meeting Programs have done a lot toward showing the older generation that today's teenagers take time out from the movies and cokes to know what is going on in the world, and they are often pleasantly surprised.

Building Emotional Democracy

ETHEL S. BEER

New York, New York

In this disturbed world of ours, democracy has an important part to play in reconstruction. Only it must penetrate deeper into our daily lives than it does at present. Political democracy is not enough because it does not necessarily affect our ordinary behavior. Besides it must be backed up by a broader concept of democracy in order to be completely realized. Therefore it is essential to build up emotional democracy, which is the stimulus for democracy of all kinds. If the United States can develop emotional democracy sufficiently within its own borders, it will be an example to other countries. As such it may set the pace for universal peace—so imperative for the survival of mankind in this atomic era.

Theoretically the United States has upheld democracy since its inception. It was the ideal of the founders and dream of many others. In the stirring words of the Gettysburg address, delivered in 1863, President Lincoln states:

"Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in liberty and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal."

Unfortunately the reality has fallen far short of this conception because there has not been enough emotional democracy. Emotional democracy can be defined as unbiased feelings towards others. This includes sympathy for mankind in the broadest sense and tolerance for human weaknesses. Respect for people as individuals enters into this idea, too. It is what they are, not their birth, possessions or position, that counts.

To be a little more specific: Emotional democracy means considering each person for himself, regardless of background. That is, color, creed, nationality, financial conditions, profession, and class do not influence judgment. Fine character is recognized regardless of origin or the level of society to which an individual belongs. Generalities about groups are not accepted blindly. No group is believed to have a priority on virtue, culture, thrift, or other desirable traits. The same is true in

reverse. No group can be said to have a priority on vice, ignorance, stupidity, sloth, or other undesirable characteristics. Attributes vary within categories.

Emotional democracy carries with it the conviction that there are certain basic needs for everybody. Human beings may differ because of "accident of birth," qualifications, or opportunity. But these do not make them superior and inferior, nor mean that they do not merit the same treatment. Emotional democracy is more comprehensive than political democracy. It is deeper than the intellectual acceptance of democratic principles and the belief in a democratic form of government. Without emotional democracy practice does not always follow precept as is the case so often.

Although political democracy has been legally established for years in the United States, it has not entirely succeeded. The reason is not hard to find. Man can and does circumvent laws that his heart does not accept. Prohibition is a shining example. It was repealed because it could not be enforced. The public will not obey regulations not accepted emotionally. Legal rights—a vital part of political democracy—are not always upheld because of the lack of democratic spirit. Political democracy alone cannot bring about justice and equality for all in matters of fundamental welfare.

For instance, regions exist in the South where the Negro finds it hard or impossible to vote. Lynchings occur and remain unpunished. Inconsistently the white man tries to prove his supremacy by acting in an inferior way. That he has the power to do so reflects on the imperfect workings of democracy today. Nor is the South only at fault. The North has anti-discrimination laws, showing that fair treatment, irrespective of color and religion, is not assured here either. Moreover some people still think of the "classes" and the "masses" and in their minds limit the benefits of living accordingly.

Political democracy does not go far enough because it does not change attitudes. Individuals do not think differently because a law controls their actions. Political democracy has not destroyed prejudice and privilege even in this "American land of promise."

Quite apparently prejudice still rears its ugly head only too often. Every day examples are heard in conversation. There are accepted labels for specific groups, not meant to be complimentary. A few are "Chink," "Kike," "shanty Irish," and "Dago." Sometimes the character of certain groups is generalized in phrases, such as "as light fingered as a Gypsy," "slow like a Swede," "the 'canny' Scotch," "those snobbish English," and "a real Italian hot temper."

Calling people names because of their cultural heritage sets them apart from the beginning. It makes them aware of differences that might never have been felt otherwise. Small children are hurt by such taunts from their playmates; grown-ups wince and take offense. To divide the human race in derision, even in thought, is not conducive to a feeling of unity. Then how can that "one-world" consciousness be obtained, which is so essential for progress today?

As for sweeping conclusions about group character, obviously these are inexact. Human beings cannot be fairly judged by preconceived notions. Nor does making exceptions for those who do not fit into the pattern promote tolerance for the whole group. Singling out a few from the rest still is an expression of bias. Therefore it does not uproot prejudice—the source of so much evil in this world.

Feelings of privilege, because of status or economic circumstances, are signs that class distinction still exists despite political democracy. Familiarity with servants is an example. Even children, taught to have respect for their elders, call domestics by their first names. While this may seem like a minor affair, it has implications. Why should anyone be addressed with less dignity because of his work? This suggests a stigma that should not be attached to any labor—no matter how humble—in a democracy.

Turning to larger issues, money buys advantages taken for granted by the few, but con-

sidered extravagant for the many very frequently. At any rate they are not always obtainable. The quality of health care is likely to be different. The attitude is that second rate is good enough for those unable to pay for the best private practice. But do not bodies, rich and poor, need the same care to prevent and cure ailments? Education is divided into private and public schools, that all too frequently do not have parallel standards. Usually the private school is considered better, although it is not always. At any rate education is split on a monetary basis, which is not true about children's brains. Housing projects may lack the nicety of small details, such as a closet door, and be institutional in appearance. The composite floor may be easier to keep clean but does not appeal to all aesthetically. The same is true about other utilitarian features.

"It doesn't look like a real apartment," Mrs. Bassi, a pretty young mother in a low-rent housing project in New York City explained. She pointed her finger down, "Look, there isn't even a parquet floor." Her artistic sense was offended. It takes more than conveniences to raise people's level of living.

Human beings cannot be separated according to the size of their pocket-book, because their inner urges are much the same. Joys and sorrows are just as keen in shabby huts as in stately mansions. Ability and taste cannot be measured by income. Only the chance to gratify them differs. Ambition may thrive in the lowliest household, a love of beauty may develop in the ugliest surrounding. Such reactions often are symbols of protest against a sordid environment.

"I always knew there was something better to strive for," Esther claimed, years after she had left the wretched home in the New York slums where she had grown up.

Obviously something is wrong. Society must realize that the needs and desires of man are fundamentally alike, else democracy will never permeate civilization.

Economic equality may not be a practical solution. Nor does it seem possible, judging from past history. Probably the most we can hope for here is a levelling of huge fortunes and the prevention of dire poverty. But, at least, if there were no artificial social barriers,

people of all conditions might learn to know and understand one another. Position and worldly goods do not matter so much in human relations as conduct, which reflects personal attitude. Emotional democracy can steer behavior in the right direction, and should be cultivated before it is too late.

To build emotional democracy individuals of all kinds must mingle. This means forgetting social restrictions, which are man-made in any case. Such mingling should start in childhood, before consciousness of difference exists. Then it is natural and does not have to be learned. Children are more prone than adults to take a person for what he is, rather than what he was born, or has been made. Their friendliness extends to all, until it is suppressed. Herein lies the danger. Emotional democracy is easily destroyed. To make it last, every effort should be made.

No child should be confined to his own social set for contacts. Children should be permitted to play with anybody. If all boys and girls went to public school, cultivating a variety of friends would be easier. Such an experience is due any child living in a democracy. Camp broadens the circle still further, and could do more if the groups were mixed. Intercultural camps are a start. Usually, however, the children are drawn mainly from the same social and economic level. Somehow camps should reach a wider range of children, so that all classes would profit from sharing such close companionship.

When children mingle their parents are likely to meet—another possible step in building emotional democracy. With a mutual interest—the welfare of their children—they have a focus for contacts. The child can and will lead the way to tolerance and intimacy with those from varied backgrounds, if not influenced by adults. Time and time again, a small boy or girl makes the first approach to strangers. And this may prove the opening wedge for older people.

Of course, grown-ups can mingle of their own accord in numerous ways. Study, work, and play, bring different types of men and women together. Thus they gain knowledge of other human beings, whether or not they form friendships. But naturally an open mind is essential.

The point is that there must be a desire to learn about others, and the ability to accept everyone without condescension. The strongest appeal is that friendly human contacts make life more interesting. Each person can teach something, no matter how lowly or how high his status.

A taxi-man's explanation about taking the wrong turn may tell of his family devotion. "I'm upset because I'm not used to working on Sunday," confided a brawny Irishman, moping his brow. "I keep thinking about the wife and children eating dinner and enjoying one another. I miss them." How could I be cross at him for going the wrong way after that?

The mother who works hard year after year to provide a better future for her children is an example of courage and fortitude. "I want them to have it easier than I have," Mrs. Boni contends, looking around her shabby but clean apartment. Thus she explains her reason for toiling at the factory, even though her husband makes enough for the basic needs.

A great deal can be gained by chance encounters and acquaintance with simple folk, provided the approach is warm. A "give and take" relationship is mutually beneficial. Discussing our own private lives occasionally is a foundation for closeness, while complete reticence may be mistaken for aloofness. To win the hearts of people experiences must be shared. The poor mother feels that her children are less problems if she knows that yours—from more fortunate surroundings—are not "paragons of virtue" either. The young business woman feels less the "victim of circumstances" if she knows that you—who have had more opportunities—have unfulfilled ambitions, romantic yearnings, and disappointments, too. Why clothe such ordinary facts in mystery anyhow? The realization that neither money nor education brings happiness makes the differences between individuals from varying backgrounds loom less large.

Those who can travel are peculiarly lucky. They can add to their knowledge of mankind enormously, provided they study the people and their customs as well as the sights. Books and travelogues supplement the information of the stay-at-homes, too. The *mores* of foreign lands explain much about the countless strains of the

population of the United States. However human nature has a basic similarity, which is comprehended more fully after wandering over the world actually or intellectually. Man has a common heritage, no matter what is the color of his skin, the cut of his garb, the skies above, or the conditions around him. Everywhere children play and families go about their daily business. The details differ, but the pattern is fundamentally the same. When this fact permeates the consciousness of all Americans, emotional democracy will be well under way.

In order to have complete democracy, emotional democracy must be built. Without it political democracy can be a real travesty that does not affect our associations with our fellowmen. So far the United States has not achieved

enough emotional democracy, which may explain why the democratic doctrine is not spreading as fast as it should. It takes more than fighting to uphold such a cause. Emotional democracy reaches beyond national borders to the entire world. It is a torch that can light the path to progress in the future. The Second World War left an aftermath of uncertainty as to the direction of political systems. The atom bomb is a dreadful menace, showing clearly that man must find a formula for peace or be destroyed. Unrest still shadows our existence. If emotional democracy can be developed as a vital force, it could do much towards solving the overwhelming human ills of the present age.

The Teachers' Page

HYMAN M. BOODISH

Dobbins Vocational Technical School, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

What is the responsibility of teachers of social studies in the forthcoming presidential election?

Political campaigners may run away with their own enthusiasm when they proclaim every four years in words somewhat as follows:

At no time in the history of our country did the American people have to make as crucial a decision as they do now. . . .

Voting for a president and congressmen who will or will not support him always involves a crucial decision. Every presidential election, as we know, is an important election. Whether it is more so this year than others, history alone will tell.

There is, of course, a great deal of evidence to indicate that we are living in times which make the 1952 election a crucial one. On the world stage, on which our country is playing a leading role, the struggle between the two opposing ways of life—Communism and Democracy—is gaining momentum. The fate of the United Nations, our stake in N.A.T.O., the struggle in Korea, all, directly related to whether or not there shall be a third world war, are an integral part of this year's presidential election.

On the domestic scene (which cannot really be separated from the world struggle) the issues also concern the very foundations of our way of life. The question of change, which is a major issue of the presidential campaign, is not merely one of change in administration, but of change in economic philosophy, involving such issues as inflation, strikes, health insurance, national debt, deficit spending, aid to the farmer, Federal support for public education, and international trade. In the opinion of some writers, the United States has reached the end of a revolutionary period, started by the New Deal and culminating in the Fair Deal. It is generally agreed, regardless of who will be elected, that the major changes effected during the last twenty years will not be undone. However, the direction our economy will take with respect to conflicting economic theories and political dogmas will, perhaps, be greatly influenced by the results of the 1952 election.

As teachers, it is our creed not to influence our students in favor of a particular candidate or political party. But, it is our responsibility to help our students, through directed reading, listening to radio and television broadcasts, discussions and related activities to analyze

the issues and evaluate the promises. We do not want to make up our students' minds, but we do want them to recognize propaganda, to think intelligently, and to make decisions free of the emotionalism that characterizes our political campaigns.

The following activities are suggestive of what can be done:

Committee and Class Projects

1. Organize a committee who will report to the class once a week on the major issues and personalities of the campaign.
2. Hold a "meet the press" conference in which several members of the class, acting as reporters, interview other members of the class, acting as key figures in the campaign.
3. Debate the subject, "Resolved: The Electoral College Should Be Eliminated in the Election of the President of the United States."
4. Make a bulletin board display dealing with the major issues and personalities of the campaign.
5. Dramatize one of the following
 - a. The nomination of Eisenhower and Stevenson at their respective party conventions.
 - b. Eisenhower's and Stevenson's acceptance speeches at the conventions.
 - c. A "whistle stop" speech by one of the major nominees or their supporters.

Individual Projects

1. Make an annotated scrap book dealing with the major aspects of the campaign and the issues.
2. Draw cartoons and posters illustrating highlights of the campaign.
3. Read and report to the class on some phase of the campaign as presented by:
 - a. A news columnist.
 - b. A newspaper editorial.
 - c. A magazine article.
 - d. A radio or television program.
4. Make a book of biographical sketches dealing with the outstanding personalities of the campaign.
5. Write an editorial expressing your views on any of the following issues.
 - a. Corruption in government.
 - b. Extension of civil rights.
 - c. United States policy in Korea.

- d. Strengthening Europe against Communism.
- e. Taxes.
- f. Checking costly labor-management disputes.
- g. Inflation.
- h. Decreasing the cost of government.
- i. Foreign aid.
- j. Control of atomic energy.

Anyone who has witnessed, via television, the Republican and Democratic conventions knows that a revolutionary force is at work in American political life. In the early hours of the morning, following Governor Adlai Stevenson's acceptance speech, four top television and radio commentators, Larry La Seur, Edward Murrow, Eric Saverid, and Walter Cronkite, were exchanging views about the diverse aspects of the convention. One of the most significant comments, made by Eric Saverid, concerned the role that television played in bringing to the people the events of the convention. He noted that the members of the press, who had what used to be regarded the choice seats—in front of the rostrum—did not stay in their assigned sections. The newspapermen had discovered that they could learn more of what was going on by watching television than by being on the convention floor.

It is hardly necessary to comment on the tremendous impact that television will continue to have in this and in future campaigns. However, the total effect, resulting from this interaction between the people and the politicians via television, cannot yet be measured.

To what extent, for example, was the defeat of Taft due to his failure to allow the televising of the hearings of the so-called "Texas steal?" According to various commentators, the public had been virtually enraged by this action. The Eisenhower forces took advantage of it and capitalized on the phrase of making the convention a "people's convention." Similarly, to what extent did Senator Dirksen's reference to Governor Dewey, regarded by many viewers as being in bad taste, boomerang against the Senator's choice for the nominee?

The emotional impact of television, as it portrayed true life dramas, also cannot be accurately measured. Few people, regardless of their party affiliation, could have remained

untouched by the splendid ovation offered to Vice-President Barkley, following his reluctant withdrawal from the race; and by the pathos registered in Senator Kefauver's face and that of his wife, when the Senator sat waiting, in an atmosphere of anti-climax, to turn over his votes to Governor Stevenson.

The future role of television in education (not

merely as an educational tool but as a mass medium of communication in all its diverse effects) has only been touched upon in these early years of television broadcasting. What will be the responsibility of teachers of social studies regarding television's growing influence on the developing minds of their students?

Visual and Other Aids

IRWIN A. ECKHAUSER

Washington Junior High School, Mount Vernon, New York

If you are looking for pictures that illustrate mankind's age-old struggle for freedom, you may want to send for UNESCO'S Exhibition Album on Human Rights. Consisting of 110 separate pictorial sheets, 12½ by 19 inches in size, the Album is the product of long research by UNESCO on the principal stages in human development and the relations between human rights and world peace. It should prove particularly useful for bulletin board, library or corridor displays in connection with Human Rights Day, December 10. A Short History of Human Rights and a copy of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights are also included with the pictorial sheets. The Exhibition on Human Rights may be ordered from the International Documents Service, 2960 Broadway, New York 27, N. Y. The price is \$3.00.

FILMS

The Philippine Republic. 16 minutes. Sale. March of Time Forum Films, 369 Lexington Ave., New York 17, N. Y.

Reveals the past and current history of the Republic of the Philippines.

Promise of Pakistan. 17 minutes. Sale. March of Time Forum Films.

Shows scenes of the new nation-caravans in Khyber Pass, Karachi Airport, newspaper plants, religious customs, daily living, etc.

Rock of Gibraltar. 10 minutes. Long term lease. Teaching Film Custodians, 25 W. 43 St., New York 18, N. Y.

Considers the life of the British soldiers stationed in Gibraltar.

Mediterranean Memories. 9 minutes. Long term lease. Teaching Film Custodians.

Gives an overall view of the Mediterranean from Gibraltar to Greece.

Turkey. 10 minutes. Sale. March of Time Forum Films.

Presents a view of life, customs, and government in Turkey.

High Plains. 20 minutes. Sale. Government Films Dept., United World Films, 1445 Park Ave., New York 29, N. Y.

Shows life on a large agricultural estate in Bolivia.

Tin from Bolivia. 20 minutes. Free-loan. U. S. Bureau of Mines, Graphic Services Section, 4800 Forbes St., Pittsburgh, Pa.

Excellent picturization of mining of tin in Bolivia. Working conditions in these mines are also depicted.

Bolivia. 15 minutes. Sale. Encyclopaedia Britannica Films, 1150 Wilmette Ave., Wilmette, Ill.

Progress is noted in the developing of Bolivia's natural resources.

Ports of Industrial Scandinavia. 20 minutes. Sale or rent. United World Films, 1445 Park Ave., New York, N. Y.

Various port cities are shown; the resources and abundant water power as well as the prosperity of the peoples of the eastern Swedish coast.

Life in a Fishing Village. 10 minutes. Black and white, or color. Sale. Coronet Instruc-

tional Films, 65 So. Water St., Chicago 1, Ill.

Here we see the life, customs and work in Gravarna, a typical Swedish fishing village.

Sweden. 14 minutes. Sale. March of Time Forum Films.

Seen are the cities, people, co-operatives, and industries in this unusual country.

Mountain Farmers (Switzerland). 20 minutes. Sale or rent. Educational Film Dept., United World Films.

Seen is a typical family life in the Emmen-thal Valley of Switzerland.

Understanding the Swiss. 10 minutes. Sale. Associated Film Artists, 30 N. Raymond Ave., Pasadena 1, Cal.

The people, their environment, and work is shown.

Let's Look at Switzerland. 13 minutes. Sale or rent. Films of the Nations, 62 W. 45 St., New York 19, N. Y.

A good film depicting the country and people.

Sheep Ranch Country (Southeastern Australia). 20 minutes. Sale or rent. United World Films.

Here we are shown a contrast of life on a sheep ranch with life in the seaports and industries.

Australia Today. 35 minutes. Sale or rent. Australian News and Information Bureau, 636 Fifth Ave., New York 20, N. Y.

Gives a good view of the cities, mines, farms, ranches, plant and animal life of Australia.

Discovery. 60 minutes. Rent. United World Films.

Shows Admiral Byrd's most recent South Pole expedition.

Antarctic Expedition. 18 minutes. Free loan. District Public Information Officer of U. S. Naval District nearest you.

Seen is the mapping of vast areas, discovery of new peaks, and testing of cold-weather equipment during the 1946-47 Navy expedition.

Life in the Antarctic. 11 minutes. Sale or rent. Knowledge Builders, 625 Madison Ave., New York 22, N. Y.

Shows Antarctica—whales, sea lions, penguins, and other birds—the sole inhabitants of this region.

Drug Addiction. 22 minutes. Black and white,

or sound. Sale or rent. Encyclopaedia Britannica Films.

Gives a forceful portrayal of the vital problem of narcotic addiction among America's youth. It is the story of a high school youth who tries heroin as an "experiment," steals to get more and becomes a grave liability to society.

FILMSTRIPS

Sweden. 70 frames. Filmette, 635 Riverside Drive, New York 31, N. Y.

Shows natural resources, industries, and customs of people.

Sweden Series. 30 frames. Stillfilm Inc., 8443 Melrose Ave., Hollywood, Calif.

Reveals regional geography; people and occupations; cities and views.

Bolivia. 50 frames. Stillfilm Inc.

Seen are maps, natural resources, LaPaz, Lake Titicaca.

Switzerland—The Land and Its People. 37 frames. Society for Visual Education, 1345 W. Diversey Pkwy., Chicago 14, Ill.

The customs, activities, landscape, and industries are shown.

Australia. 49 frames. Informative Classroom Pictures Publishers, 40 Ionia Ave., N.W., Grand Rapids 2, Mich.

Early history, government, people, cities, industries, transportation, wild life, etc., are shown.

How To Lessen Chances of Injury From an Atomic Explosion. 45 frames. Color. Society for Visual Education, Inc.

Teaches students to protect themselves from injuries caused by atomic bombing.

Keystone of Prosperity—America's Foreign Trade. 53 frames. Black and white. Teacher's Discussion Manual. Office of Educational Activities, *The New York Times*, Times Sq., New York 36, N. Y.

Points out how the comfort and prosperity of the people of the United States and the nation's strength depend on our foreign trade.

Houses of Parliament. 30 frames. Sale. British Information Services, 30 Rockefeller Plaza, New York, N. Y.

Scenes from the power behind the throne, the House of Lords, the House of Commons, and other historic spots.

RECORDINGS

The Constitution of the United States. Size A-78 r.p.m., size B-33 1/3 r.p.m., Natl. Association of Secondary School Principals, 1201-16 St., N.W., Washington 6, D. C.

Hear events leading up to the end of the Confederation, the necessity for a Constitution, its acceptance, and the inauguration of George Washington.

Sam Houston. 78 r.p.m. or 33 1/3 r.p.m. Natl. Assoc. of Secondary School Principals.

Portrays the work of Sam Houston in winning Texas sovereignty from Mexico, making Texas an empire and finally securing annexation.

Benedict Arnold. 78 r.p.m. or 33 1/3 r.p.m. Natl. Assoc. of Secondary School Principals.

Tells of events during the Revolution leading to Benedict Arnold's attempt to sell West Point to the British, his flight to England and his lonely, dishonored life after the War.

RADIO

The People Act (CBS) Sunday, 10:05-10:30 p.m.

A series of actual broadcasts tape-recorded in dozens of American communities to demonstrate the effective functioning of democratic procedures at the grassroots level.

Public Affairs (NBC) Saturday, 12:15-12:30 p.m.

Talks, discussions, or brief dramatizations by national organizations such as Red Cross, Girl Scouts, CARE, etc., in observance of their national campaign.

Cross Section (CBS) Saturday, 4:30-5:00 p.m.

Seven major business, labor, and farm organizations express their opinions on a subject of the week through a selected spokesman.

This I Believe (CBS) Saturday, 7:00-7:05 p.m.

Edward R. Murrow and guests present the personal philosophies of thoughtful men and women in all walks of life.

News and Comment

R. T. SOLIS-COHEN

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

LABOR MOVEMENT—PHILADELPHIA, 1827

Louis H. Arky of the University of Pennsylvania is the author of a most interesting article in the April, 1952 issue of *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*. It is entitled "The Mechanics' Union of Trade Associations and the Formation of the Philadelphia Workingmen's Movement."

Dr. Arky has discovered new material which sheds light upon the Philadelphia workingmen's movement. He has investigated the forces and ideas responsible for the creation of the Mechanics' Union of Trade Associations. This organization retained some influence until 1831.

William Heighton, a cordwainer who had emigrated from Oundle, England, to Southwark in Philadelphia County, became a leader and champion of American labor. Influenced by the Ricardian socialists, he believed that the producer should receive the whole product of his labor. He was of the opinion that laborers

were deprived of the proceeds of their production. Therefore they were burdened with poverty and injustice. Society was controlled by the non-producing classes which took the greater portion of the wealth belonging to the laborers.

Heighton maintained that there were six classes of non-producers: theologians, jurists, the military, manufacturers and commercial people, the gentry and legislators, the last named being the most influential and intelligent but guilty of "supine negligence." To counteract their deficiency, Heighton believed that it was necessary for the working people to understand political economy in order to learn how to use the franchise and to secure the benefits of their labor.

He realized that his plan depended upon an educated working class, the thorough dissemination of information throughout the country, the establishment of a free, liberal press dedicated to the interests of the working class and

upon workingmen's libraries where men could read, debate, and hear lectures.

Heighton wanted to use the societies as a channel for political activity. He was a gifted speaker and an able editor of the *Mechanics' Free Press*. Under his leadership, working men learned the art of articulate protest.

SHRINE TO GALLATIN

Friendship Hill, the home of Albert Gallatin who was Secretary of the Treasury under Presidents Jefferson and Madison, has become a shrine to his memory. Furnished with handsome antiques and housing many valuable historic documents, the mansion may be reached from the Pennsylvania Turnpike if the motorist turns off at the New Stanton Interchange, about twenty miles east of Pittsburgh and then drives south on U. S. 119 through Connellsville and Uniontown to Smithfield. From there he should proceed a few miles west on State Route 266 to New Geneva on the Monongahela. Friendship Hill is a short distance from the town, and the entire journey from the Turnpike is about forty-five miles.

The mansion is open to visitors from spring until late fall. A hostess conducts visitors about this home and through the well kept grounds. (Martha Pratt Haislip in the *New York Times*, March 16, 1952)

MAPLE SYRUP FESTIVALS

According to Robert Meyer, Jr., (*New York Times*, Sunday, March 16, 1952) maple trees are usually good for two crops of tourists a year: one in the spring to see the sap collected and processed, and the other in the fall to admire the brilliant foliage of the maple trees.

Four maple sugar producing communities this year celebrated the gathering of the maple sugar crop with festivities.

The oldest of the sugaring-off parties was the Geauga County Maple Festival at Chardon, Ohio, about thirty miles from downtown Cleveland, celebrated from March 28 to 30th. Ohio ranks third among the states in maple sugar production. The making of maple syrup has been traced to the Indians. In 1798 white settlers boiled maple sap in crude iron kettles swung over open fires. The annual festival was first organized in Chardon in 1926 to acquaint the public with the history of the production of maple syrup.

The celebration included a competition and the award of the Plain Dealer Cup for the best maple syrup. During the festivities there were exhibitions of new and old methods of syrup making, playlets, an antique show, concerts, log-sawing and chopping contests, and sheep-shearing demonstrations. And there was a golden wedding dinner for all couples in Ohio married fifty years or longer.

For the production of one gallon of pure maple syrup a great deal of sap is needed—forty-five to fifty-five gallons.

The Sugaring-Off Festival in the Monadnock Region of New Hampshire occurred from March 28 to 30th. On Saturday night, March 29th, there was square dancing. Refreshments included syrup on snow and dill pickles.

Since 1940, there has been an annual maple syrup festival in Vermontville, Michigan. This year the celebration was scheduled for the second week in April. Attractions include aerial exhibitions by flying farmers, free movies, band concerts and street dances.

The second largest maple producing county in the world is Somerset County, Pennsylvania. In this county, the people of Meyersdale have been holding a sugaring-off party annually since 1948. This year the affair was held on April 18, 19 and 20. The activities included eating country sausage and buckwheat cakes covered with pure maple syrup, watching a two-hour historical pageant and parade and then going on a tour of sugar camps in the Meyersdale-Salisbury area to see how farmers produce syrup, sugar and other maple sugar sweetmeats.

Vermont is the world's largest producer of maple syrup. There the sugaring-off party is celebrated in Taylor Park, St. Albans. Vermonters pay tribute to the best sugar farmer in the region by making him king of the festivities. He is selected for his ability to make syrup and keep a good orchard. He presides at ox-pulling and wood-chopping contests.

A typical sugar house is erected in the park where folk dances, frolics, and stunts are staged. Maple syrup is served on snow, or in its absence, on cracked ice.

UNDERSTANDING OUR FEARS

Some fears are legitimate while others are not, according to Bonaro Overstreet (*N.E.A.*

Journal, February, 1952.)

In the first category are the fears of real dangers. With reference to these dangers, the fears are sufficient without being excessive.

In the second are the illegitimate fears which cause individuals to do what is not called for. They are the great disrupters of personality and interpersonal relations.

Confronted with legitimate fears, man faces reality. To the extent that man recognizes and evaluates actual danger, he copes with the problem of reducing hazards. For example, he builds shelter against the threat of rain and snow and other natural phenomena. He enacts laws to protect society. He learns to preserve food from one harvest to the next, attempts to deal with the menaces to health and uses his ingenuity to invent devices which aid him in overcoming the difficulties of his environment.

Illegitimate fears obscure reality and confuse man. They prevent him from recognizing and locating danger, and thus throw him into a panic. Thus he is prevented from developing courage "which Plato defined as wisdom concerning danger."

Mrs. Overstreet, quoting Aldous Huxley (in *Ape and Essence*) "Love casts out fear," comments that conversely fear casts out love, intelligence, goodness and all thought of beauty and truth. She adds

"fear casts out the discriminating power to know what should be feared and how it should be feared."

Upon this power our personal and cultural existence depends.

In our current civilization the adult with a mature sense of reality recognizes that his well-being has no foundation except in a system of values that is now threatened everywhere. He also fears that he may remain silent when he should speak up, that he may play safe when he should take great risks, and that by being mistaken he may unwittingly become a supporter of that which should be opposed.

To understand fear means to be "wisely, responsibly, and productively afraid."

Which factors should we fear as dangers? We should fear certain tendencies of the human mind. We need to fear tendencies which make us obtuse and blind when we should be sensitive and capable of insight, which prevent us

from discriminating between the familiar good and the familiar evil. Obtuseness whether it be found in the mind of the individual or in national policy gravely menaces humanity.

Other common and dangerous forms of behavior include irrational forms of self-defense. One of these consists in dodging responsibility by blocking the problem out of our consciousness and then pretending that somehow everything will turn out well in the end. This Mrs. Overstreet, describes as acting as though we could insulate ourselves against catastrophe by looking the other way.

Another irrational form of self-defense behavior is to explain as correct our own conduct and that of our own group although we would swiftly condemn it as aggressive and wrong if it were performed by others.

Mrs. Overstreet also objects to people arguing down all who disagree with them rather than finding a way in which everybody's prides and rights can be considered. Such a situation is extremely dangerous because some group or nation which feels slighted can provide the spark which touches off a catastrophe which no person, group, or nation will be able to control.

Another grave threat to the individual as well as to humanity is the authoritarian personality situated in a position to control other persons. Such a personality is hostile and power-seeking. He can never feel satisfied in a situation of equality but thinks in terms of status. He defines success in terms of power over others.

This type of personality is destructively anarchic in that it can never emotionally accept law as equally binding upon all. Envy-ing and admiring power, it exempts the powerful from the standards imposed upon lesser folk; and in its own exercise of power, it thinks of itself as a law unto itself.

Since its choices of what to do with power are dictated by an attitude of pervasive hostility, often rationalized as realism, it engages with a clear conscience in practices that are cynical, unjust, and cruel. And with the proper trappings of power at its command, it rallies to its support those who are themselves frustrated seekers of power or who are looking for a strong man on whom

to lean and from whom to borrow status.

The third threat to humanity is the insidious encroachment upon our free institutions of totalitarian practices, sponsored by groups that set themselves up as guardians of democracy. Such groups flout the principle of due process of law and exhibit their readiness to employ extra-legal means to maintain "order." They also brand as radical reforms of which they disapprove even though such reforms are constitutional and evolutionary. They do not believe in the basic dignity of man and they distrust the average man's capacity for self-government. They flaunt their contempt for reason and their readiness to employ the methods of the rabble-rouser.

It is not enough for us to avoid these groups or mildly to deplore their influence. They are irresponsibly wrecking lives among us and are invading our free institutions. We need to fear their corroding influence enough to oppose it firmly as we oppose the influence of more openly labeled totalitarianism.

We legitimately should fear the social and political lag that causes the world to continue with the same old antagonisms. We should fear a policy which would isolate our country in world affairs. We should view warily the influence of every irresponsible hate-monger whose utterances though unofficial, may nonetheless be interpreted by other peoples abroad as representative of our point of view. We should view with alarm the type of party politics which would jeopardize our international relations to win an election.

Recognizing these dangers does not mean that we become paralyzed with panic. Rather we appreciate the problem and we should exert ourselves to contribute to its solution.

Mrs. Overstreet points out that we should all have a concern for the millions of starved, unloved and uncared-for children who have little reason to believe in goodness and much to accept antagonism. They will grow up and live in the same world as American future generations.

It is extremely important that thinking people fight against and overcome a sense of helplessness and futility in battling with these fears and problems. The balance between life-affirming and life-denying forces greatly

depends upon our understanding of fear and how we apply our knowledge.

CORE CURRICULUM

"Core Curriculum: Why and What?" is the title of an article in *School Life* (February, 1952) by Grace S. Wright, Research Assistant in Secondary Education, Division of State and Local School Systems, U. S. Office of Education.

Although the term "core curriculum" has no precise definition, it is described in terms of its characteristics.

The core subjects are those learning experiences needed by all youth. The core has a distinct organization and is allotted a longer time than that given to a single subject. A core class usually meets for a double period though sometimes three or four periods are included in the "block" for which the core class is scheduled.

The core replaces other subjects in the curriculum and cuts across major subject areas. Usually the core consists of English and social studies or English and social studies and one other subject.

Usually one teacher is responsible for the learnings in this block class.

There are four advantages in the core type of organization:

1. It provides opportunities for cooperative problem solving in areas of pupil needs and interests thus giving pupils practice in democratic living.
2. It promotes correlation and coordination in learning experiences.
3. It makes possible an improved guidance and counseling program at the classroom level.
4. In the junior high school it makes the transition from elementary school less abrupt.

Adolescents, like other individuals, have needs, interests, and problems to which they give much attention. Those problems which concern them most at this stage are called "developmental tasks." These include physical maturing, family relationships, relationships with the group, selecting a vocation and achieving economic independence, and acquiring a system of values. In addition to these tasks, society demands that each adolescent become a good citizen in a democracy and that he have some skill in the fundamental processes—the tools of learning.

The secondary school has provided vocational courses and college preparatory courses for future adult economic status. Although many schools offer home economics courses which stress family relationships, in others home economics is still limited merely to cooking and sewing. In some schools courses in hygiene include physical development and maturing, while in others, courses in health and hygiene do not exist.

The social studies offering aids children to learn about citizenship, but in some schools pupils do not have the chance to practice citizenship in clubs, school offices, athletics and other extra-curricular activities.

Group problem-solving techniques are rarely used in most schools but are the regular practice in the "core" or "block" class.

The core concept requires that the problems upon which the pupils work will be those which they and society regard as important to them at their developmental level. Problems disregard subject lines. Sometimes the work of other teachers is correlated with the problem unit of the block class. Therefore there will be more frequent instances of correlation between subjects than would be found in separate subject classes where each course is compartmentalized.

The larger block of time permits the teacher to know each of his pupils better because he meets half as many pupils as he does in two single-period classes. He therefore is more able to help his pupils. Frequently the teacher continues with the same group for a second year.

In the junior high school, a block class results in a lesser degree of change for the pupil coming from the elementary school where he had a single teacher for the whole day. The place of this one teacher is taken by the core teacher in the junior high school.

The "block" pattern of organization makes a core-type class but not a core.

In some classes English is correlated with the social-studies textbook. In others problem-units are used, but the units are derived from the textbook and learning follows fairly closely a textbook-determined pattern. The courses in such classes are called "unified studies."

Schoolmen use the terms "general education," "common learnings," "social living" and "core" interchangeably. "Common learnings," the term used by the Educational Policies Commission, has not had so wide a usage in literature or in practice as has "core."

Unified-studies classes are one step in the direction of the core but they accept only part of the basic philosophy. They are useful as a gradual approach to the core.

"Block" classes that are core classes recognize the importance to youth of acquiring skill in democratic living through actually practicing it in the classroom. Core issues are more than topics to be investigated. They are problems to be solved.

Problems should grow out of the personal, social or civic needs of youth. Problem-solving techniques should be employed by the pupils working in groups and in committees. Activities are so varied that each member of a class, whatever his level of ability, will be able to participate and to feel that he is making a contribution.

The core class sometimes includes activities often considered extracurricular, such as student council work, expression of hobby interests, and social activities which give practice in cooperative teacher-pupil planning.

Pupil-teacher planning of units is an important part of the core method. In some schools there are planned curriculum guides or resource units with predetermined scope and sequence. The pupil-teacher planning is confined to activities within the unit. In other schools, joint planning begins with the selection of the unit, continues through the formulation of the objectives or goals and the activities which will achieve them and end with the evaluation of individual and class outcomes.

The core uses not one but a number of different texts and reference materials. Some of these are available in the classroom and others in the central library. Fugitive materials are much used and are stored in extensive clipping files. Pupils engage in elementary research.

In addition to reading, other activities include excursions, interviewing experts, demonstrations, construction and culminating activities and the use of visual aids.

Book Reviews and Book Notes

A King's Story. By Edward, Duke of Windsor. New York: G. P. Putnam & Company, 1952. Pp. xxviii, 435. \$4.00.

Edward VIII, in *The King's Story*, gives a brief history of England from his days as an infant in the arms of Queen Victoria to the day of his abdication in 1936.

The book is well written in a restrained, conservative style. It is valuable as a summary of the decline of British power through the reigns of Edward VII, George V, Edward VIII, and George VI. Through the pages runs an analysis and mild criticism of the British monarchical system, with brief biographies of the great statesmen. A map shows the world-wide possessions of the Empire to which the Prince of Wales made many visits to hunt or to explore.

There are interesting pictures of the home life of the children of George V in the several palaces in which they made their homes with their nurses, governesses, tutors, and pets. They saw comparatively little of their parents.

Many pages are given over to the various sports to which, as the Prince grew older, he gave too much of his time and attention. He explains that he was never allowed any knowledge of government affairs. Instead of being in training for the throne, he was forced to be a playboy. He took pride in being a champion in sports—in shooting, hunting, golf, flying, and steeplechasing. As his time of accession approached, he was forced to give up this last, his favorite sport, through the pleadings of his mother, to whom he was deeply attached.

The Duke of Windsor tells the story of his abdication and of his determination to marry a commoner, Mrs. Wallis Warfield Simpson, in the last one hundred pages, with a quiet dignity and reserve, which has won for him a sympathy among the democratic peoples of his own empire and of all the world. In a restrained statement, he lays the blame on Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin and Archbishop Gordon Laing. He was aided by Winston Churchill and strong British editors, but he refused their advice to

delay matters and signed his abdication in favor of his brother George VI, December 9, 1936.

Since 1898, he had been held in the background, and then sent flying about the world to seek amusement as best he could; now in 1936, as an exile he was to seek refuge and lodging with Baron Rothschild near Vienna.

In spite of the unpleasant ending,—and his possible marriage is very discreetly and acceptably discussed—the book makes light, pleasant, and very instructive reading in modern history. It was written under close advice and supervision of London and New York editors. The 200 pictures add much to the reader's interest.

S. A. WALLACE

Washington, D. C.

Roads to Agreement. By Stuart Chase. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1951. Pp. xiii, 245. \$2.75.

Mr. Chase has been seriously concerned about many major problems of modern society for a number of years. In this work, which bears the sub-title, "Successful Methods in the Science of Human Relations," his concern is centered upon the problem of why people disagree, and the exploration of methods by which agreement may be reached.

After stating that "the spiralling disagreements of the cold war" were largely responsible for this ambitious venture, and after confessing that he gained more satisfaction from the process of exploration than from the achievement of any positive conclusions, he proceeds on a rather aimless mental ramble through four major fields. What do people quarrel about? Why do people quarrel? Are there any limitations to man's quarrelsome nature? What techniques lessen conflict and promote agreement?

There is certainly need for clear-cut thinking about these important problems, but it is doubtful whether this combination of casebook and comment clarifies anything but their com-

plexity. While there is much to be said for the apparent success of the Quaker meeting, or the proper organization of committee action, or the use of arbitration in industrial disputes, the author reaches no basic conclusions which point out a road to follow. The reader is left at the cross-roads with the impression that any road may be a road to agreement, and with the assurance that all of them will be long, winding and tortuous.

Mr. Chase has much to say about the science of semantics, and the importance of using terms which can be universally understood, but much of the force of this argument is lost when he takes refuge in such jargon as "group-dynamics," "In-groups, Out-groups, and T-groups," and "culture-concepts." This is not like Mr. Chase, who usually writes with considerable clarity, but his exploration into the wilderness of the science of human relations has led him into much strange company, where such terms provide a satisfactory substitute for a sense of individual responsibility.

There may be a "science" of human relations, and Mr. Chase, along with many others, has been seriously concerned with the possibility of establishing and cataloging such a science. He does not pretend to have established it, but other investigators into this important field will gain many useful ideas from this book about the variety of areas which will become involved in their investigations.

FREDERIC S. KLEIN

Franklin and Marshall College
Lancaster, Pennsylvania

Education, The Wellspring of Democracy. By Earl James McGrath. University, Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1951. Pp. x, 139. \$2.50.

"We are now engaged in competition for the minds of men, and the stake is the survival of free institutions. Today's challenge is as simple as that. In the struggle the American school is just as important as the diplomatic and military forces. Each must play its vital role in this all-embracing conflict."

Thus, Dr. McGrath, United States Commissioner of Education, in the above sentences from the first essay of his little volume *Education, the Wellspring of Democracy* echoes

a comment of Harvard's Conant that deplores the national waste of brainpower of an educational system "which does not seek out and develop the full potential of intellectually gifted children . . ."

McGrath's conclusion is documented again in the recent research related to social stratification in America. *Middletown*, *Yankee City*, *Deep South*, *Elmtown's Youth*, and *Children of Brasstown* all have outlined a class structure in our society which appears to be growing increasingly stable. "Out of every thousand children now enrolled in the fifth grade, 900 have the ability to go through high school; yet only 481 do so. Every year the nation is failing to train 47 per cent of those who ought to finish high school." So the Commissioner asks the \$64 question "Are our high schools democratic?"

Hidden tuition costs and a sterile curriculum are no less the offenders. And in order to be "democratic" and to become effective citizens McGrath feels that "young people must not only know about, [but] they must take a keen and continuing interest in the affairs of their government. The most urgent responsibility of our secondary schools therefore is to cultivate proper attitudes of citizenship in a democratic society, attitudes which help the student define the role government plays in the good society, government." (p. 70).

Education, the Wellspring of Democracy contains the role the citizen plays in the good society of seven essays, the first three of which were prepared for the 22nd annual State Education Conference, held at the College of Education at the University of Alabama. The others entitled "Vocational Education and National Well Being," "The Goals of Higher Education," "Democracy's Road to Freedom," and "Education and Foreign Policy" were read at various education events of a national nature. Rather remarkably the result offers both a continuity and plan and suggests on the part of Commissioner McGrath a high philosophy of general education based on national rather than sectional or State abilities to pay.

In connection with higher education, too, if public and national subsidy is necessary, says Dr. McGrath, then "let us have it." While this to many may still be controversial, certainly

the thesis of educational opportunity for all of the people ought not to be quibbled at by any good American.

KENNETH V. LOTTICK

Willamette University
Salem, Oregon

Democracy in a World of Tensions: A Symposium Proposed by UNESCO. Richard McKean, Editor. Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press, 1951. Pp. xv, 275. \$3.00.

This book is the result of a high ideal, of a noble purpose. It is the work of a special commission created by UNESCO in 1948 to investigate conflicts concerning fundamental concepts of the idea of democracy. The commission was concerned with the conflicts of convictions which were then, as now, disturbing the peace of the world. These ideological struggles were found to be taking place within nations and between nations. The word which was playing the greatest role in these conflicts was "democracy." What does it mean? How and by whom may it be employed? Does it have the same meaning for everybody, or is it being used by everyone to describe that which they believe to be worth fighting for? To answer these questions as to the ambiguity and misuse of the word "democracy," as to the merits of social versus political democracy, as to the problems raised for "democratic" governments in the determination of treason and the preservation of a tolerant society, and as to the definition of the value foundations in the conflict, a special inquiry was organized which took the form of a questionnaire distributed to a number of scholars throughout the world. A special Committee of Experts headed by Professor Edward H. Carr, of which Professor Richard McKean was appointed rapporteur, examined the replies. This book is made up of the replies and the conclusions and recommendations of the committee. It must be noted that the replies are, in form, essays reflecting deep and careful thought on the problems stated in the questionnaire. They constitute an international debate on the meaning of basic ideas which, in themselves, represent truth to particular peoples, and which consequently affect emotions and motivation, institutional growth and community action. It was hoped that sufficient agreement

as to the basic meaning of democracy would be discovered so as to make possible an educational program which would assist in relieving world tensions.

The conclusions of Professors Arne Naess and Stein Rokkan who made an analytical survey of the agreements and disagreements found in the replies do little to support such a hope. It was found that no one defended anti-democratic concepts. However, differences of opinion as to matters of fact were discovered which made the contributions mere working hypotheses in present-day research in ideological studies. It was found that exact lines of agreement and disagreement in ideological controversy could not be drawn because "present-day language habits are not adapted to the immense task of exact comparison of beliefs of groups and nations engaged in struggles for material and spiritual dominance." There was agreement that a "democratic" people is one which rejects the principle of leadership by a mystical elite, by a Führer or Duce, that the sole justification of government should be to serve the people in the broadest possible sense, that the most intense and widespread participation of people in government should be encouraged by governments through the provision of education and leisure. There was discovered also agreement on the principle "that no individual should be allowed, by his particular talents or shrewdness, to reduce others to permanent dependence on him or to reduce permanently their and their offspring's access to economic, educational, and cultural values." But these agreements on broad principles still leave unsolved the important problems of interpretation and implementation. Although this study has raised basic problems of analysis which set limits to its value, the Committee has recommended the extension of the project by an investigation of the ideological conflicts concerning "liberty."

The value of this book would seem to lie in the fact that it contains an international cross-section of important thinking on basic issues in our post-war world. In addition, the appendix includes a very helpful bibliography of texts on democracy which many students might wish to use. While this work considers problems of importance to everyone, these essays have not

been written for the general public. This is to be regretted. Even more disturbing is the fear that the rapid march of political developments destroys the hope that projects of this type will help us from our present danger of a third world war.

MAHLON H. HELLERICH

Elizabethtown College
Elizabethtown, Pennsylvania

American City Government and Administration. By Austin F. MacDonald. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1951. Pp. xxx, 721. \$4.50.

Like a true scientist, Mr. Austin F. MacDonald, Professor of Political Science at the University of California, in this revised edition of his oft-printed *American City Government and Administration*, labels and describes the various parts of municipal bodies. The functions of each part are discussed and their failure to function properly at times is evaluated wonderfully. He probes with almost complete scientific detachment into the many ills which have plagued the municipal organism. Cures are not usually prescribed, but the many suggestions which have been made and often put into practice to improve the workings of municipalities are examined. In all of this, and it is a good deal indeed, Professor MacDonald is both clear and concise—omitting little of importance. For this phase of any course in municipal government, this book is of inestimable aid. A college student would not only be informed of the main facts, but he would see municipal government evaluated and its administration described through the eyes of a believer in efficiency in government. To enrich the student's knowledge, thought-provoking questions are asked and stimulating additional readings are suggested at the end of each chapter.

But does all of this give the college student a complete picture of municipal government? Every once in a while, when the student reads Lincoln Steffens or views on the television screen the Senate Crime Investigating Committee, he sees painted a description of municipal government which does not always coincide with what he has been taught. What the student perceives is that the forms of municipal gov-

ernment are not as important as the nature of pressures which make the cities really operate. Of course, Steffens and the Senate Crime Investigating Committee treat pressures which we generally evaluate as evil, but not all pressures are. Surely, it is important to examine what role business, labor, the church and others play in deciding what policies should be followed by city governments. Surely, it is important to note the forms of pressure and the methods used by each group.

Professor MacDonald, to be sure, does not ignore this phase of municipal government. He is too good a political scientist to do that. I can only wonder if the plethora of trees of facts he describes, might not hinder the view of the students so that they may not be able to perceive the real forest of municipal government. I can only wonder if it might not be wiser to emphasize the factors which make municipal government really operate and discuss the other details of city government in relation to these factors rather than the reverse as seems to be the tendency in Professor MacDonald's book. The newspapers would make it appear as if this is the proper method.

With this reservation in mind, this revised edition is most welcome and this work should continue to be one of the commonly used text books in this field.

Long Island City
New York, N. Y.

ALBERT A. BLUM

These Are Americans. By John A. Rademaker. Palo Alto: Pacific Books, 1951. Pp. x, 278. \$5.00.

The case of the Nisei recently received a "shot in the arm" from that strangest of all places, Hollywood. In one of the better social photodramas to come from its sound stages, Van Johnson, at first disgruntled at a command of these second generation Japanese, quickly comes to appreciate their fighting ability and to trust their loyalty. That this change in attitude should become general would be a fine thing.

Anticipating "Go For Broke," however, John A. Rademaker, Assistant Professor of Sociology at the University of Hawaii from 1944 to 1947, has prepared a pictorial record of the Japanese Americans in Hawaii during the conflict. His

object, of course, is to investigate the charge of potential disloyalty which led to the "re-settlement" of this group in the United States at the outbreak of World War II.

Indeed, he begins with the observation "When I arrived in Hawaii in 1944, I found that what the American public believed to be established facts concerning the Americans of Japanese ancestry had formed the basis of public opinion and governmental policy all through the removal, detention, and resettlement of the Japanese Americans on the Pacific Coast." Rademaker certainly was familiar with this; previous to going to Honolulu he had been Community Analyst at the Granada (Amache) War Relocation Center in Colorado.

The reader-viewer may want to compare *These Are Americans* with Andrew W. Lind's *Hawaii's Japanese: An Experiment in Democracy*, Carey McWilliams' *Prejudice: Japanese Americans, Symbol of Racial Intolerance*, and Alexander H. Leighton's *The Governing of Men*, although Rademaker, while not disdaining potent and pointed comment, usually lets the pictures speak for themselves.

We are informed that, with James T. Lane as photographic editor, more than 12,000 pictures were examined to select for *These Are Americans* those which presented the most vital scenes of the period and activities covered. The facts themselves are said to have been secured and verified through the systematic search of all primary material, much unpublished data, and through thousands of personal interviews. One is not disappointed in the results achieved; they stand, however, as an indictment of the state of mind that led to the hysteria which followed hard upon Pearl Harbor.

The book, pictorially and editorially, is divided into five sections: "Where the American Way Proved its Superiority," "Crisis and Emergency in the Rampart of the Pacific," "Military Service," "Civilians on the Home Front," and "What Does All This Add Up To?" This last, it should be said at once, serves as a focus of potential rededication to the best principles of "The American Way" and Rademaker, although naturally assuming critical points of view, is in no sense intolerant of the opportunities which are inherent in the "democratic American tradition."

At least three points of analysis about the book may, however, be suggested. Rademaker himself makes the first one. "It may be objected that the thesis of the book is only a part of a larger and more comprehensive thesis—that minority groups in every sort of society tend to develop loyalty and allegiance to whatever happens to be the larger society in which they live. Thus, Japanese Americans living in Japan during the war were drafted into the Imperial Army and served the Emperor in his armed forces too. In a limited sense this contention is true, but in the more sharply distinguished whole-hearted allegiance which is described in this book, which springs from internal conviction and real sympathy rather than from the imperative social pressures of a specific situation, the evidence indicates that the democratic tradition of encouraging self-expression, self-determination and self-government encourages and develops such internal conviction and identification with the larger society better, more thoroughly, and more durably than does the authoritarian type of social organization." Of this thesis the reader may assess judgment for himself.

In mild criticism of the scope of Rademaker's treatment one may also raise the question "What of McKinley High School and Miles Cary?" Is not this an institution which can be credited with much in the development of the principles that Rademaker holds high—at least in its opportunity to touch as many as came within its walls? And, if the University of Hawaii is to be cited, why not McKinley?

Another comment may be leveled at the editorial and pictorial organization particularly as suggested in the "Contents." Pictures and comments seem not always to be too closely related; neither is it possible easily to identify pictures with their editorial rubric. Some sort of page identification for pictures, it is suggested, might have been preferable.

Let it not be thought, however, that the pictures are not appropriate or well-chosen. With a very few exceptions this is completely true. And there is a common denominator about the best pictures which is neither Hawaiian, Nisei, Japanese, or even "American." It is their relationship to people and mankind as a whole. Mothers, fathers, sisters, and brothers, and yes,

lovers, too are elements of every culture and nationality or race does not seem to change much the attitudes and sorrow, hope, joy, and pride that accompany reactions in crisis.

It is this reviewer's opinion that Professor Rademaker is concerned more with this "universality of mankind" thesis than with the stated objective of his search, although, of course, he finds nothing wrong with this.

KENNETH V. LOTTICK

Willamette University
Salem, Oregon

The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution. By

Harold R. Isaacs. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 1951. Pp. 382, notes, bibliography, index. \$5.00.

No library can afford to be without this study on its China shelf. Harold Isaacs enjoys the unique distinction of being the only American writer who has unravelled the events of the great Chinese revolution of 1925-27 and placed them in proper relationship one to another. As a journalist living in China the writer began his laborious task in 1934 by consulting innumerable contemporary sources, some of them hitherto inaccessible as private papers. Subsequently libraries of Europe were combed for Comintern materials. After four years of diligent collecting, the first edition of the book appeared in England. The study is of such unusual significance that the Stanford University Press found it deserving of reissue in this revised edition for its first publication in the United States.

The tragedy of the Chinese revolution was the Russian backing of Chiang Kai-shek whose Kuomintang brutally crushed the movements of the peasants and workers and imposed upon China the heavy hand of a regime which drove the masses into Communism as the only way of escape. When it was too late Stalin realized his error and then sought to disavow any connection with the treason of Chiang. All of this intrigue is carefully traced by Mr. Isaacs. It is unpleasant reading. It points to the inevitable conclusion that those are duped who believe that Chiang can ever be accepted as the head of the Chinese republic. His hands are too bloody and he has forfeited the support of Heaven.

This study shows also how the Hankow wing was won over by the Kuomintang thus closing the final avenue of hope for the revolution. Its saddest conclusion is that out of all the confusion arose the present Communist movement which has brought China into the "blind alley of totalitarianism." From this regime there seems little chance of escape because the only hope of a democratic alternative must come from the western powers which are necessarily blinded to realities by the great power struggle with which the Chinese revolution has now become identified.

Mr. Isaacs does not fail to distribute the blame for the tragedy of China among both the native exploiters of China's masses and the imperialistic western powers with which they identified their interests. Neither of these elements could afford to satisfy the demands of the masses without undermining its own vested position.

There are two big unanswered questions in Mr. Isaacs' approach. One is whether or not Stalin's support of Chiang was given in the expectation that this would be the surer way to achieve the Communist victory. The other is whether or not Trotsky's solution of establishing soviets in China instead of relying upon Kuomintang would have produced happier results.

The study is adequately documented from both Chinese and foreign sources. This fact along with the imprint of Stanford University give it the earmark of reliability in a period which, so far as this reviewer's knowledge goes, no other English scholar has delved.

W. M. GEWEHR

University of Maryland
College Park, Maryland

Soviet Attitudes Toward Authority. By Margaret Mead. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1951. Pp. vii, 148. \$4.00.

Prepared for the Rand Corporation by a group of social scientists under the editorship of Margaret Mead, an anthropologist, this study of Soviet Russia attempts to explain "the nature of the hold which the contemporary authority system in all of its ramifications—Party doctrine, centralized organization, economic rewards and punishments, censorship, political

police, and educational system—has on the population.” (p. 3.) Moreover, it tries to assess the conditions under which the Soviet regime might become stronger, remain the same, or—what its enemies hope—grow weaker. In short, it is an interdisciplinary approach to the study of certain attitudes toward Soviet authority, with the findings of the contributors integrated within an anthropological framework.

Ordinarily, for a study of this kind, with its emphasis on anthropology, the direct field method would yield the most satisfactory results. But since access to the Soviet people is impossible, research was confined—as the lengthy bibliography appearing in the appendix will indicate—to an intensive study of Soviet newspapers, professional journals, movies, records of Party Congresses, and interviews with emigres. So effective is this approach that the reader, as a consequence, feels as if the findings were based on direct contacts with the people of the U.S.S.R.

The results of these exhaustive investigations are summarized in five informative and thoughtful chapters. After analyzing the background of the Soviet system of authority at considerable length—the most revealing section of all—there follows a discussion of Soviet ideals of authority relationships, Soviet official expectations regarding motivation, the place of the political police in the Soviet authority system, and possible developments in the Soviet Union. The book carefully evaluates the extent to which the traditional Russian attitudes under Tsarism have been modified by the impact of Bolshevik rule.

This scholarly study contains many valuable insights into the Soviet regime, and helps to explain the behavior of the Communist Party and its leaders. It makes many interesting observations on the stability, strength, and inherent weaknesses of the Bolshevik dictatorship. It should prove very helpful to all teachers and students who are trying to understand contemporary developments in Soviet Russia.

RICHARD H. BAUER

University of Maryland
College Park, Maryland

Anderson as told to Mary N. Winslow. Minneapolis, Minn.: University of Minnesota Press, 1951. Pp. 266. \$3.50.

That the Swedish immigrant, Mary Anderson, should become an outstanding organizer and worker for labor and finally head of the Women's Bureau in Washington seems like a modern fairy tale. Miss Anderson tells her story simply, submerging her own achievements in the movements and groups with which she has been identified.

At sixteen she and her family left their home in Sweden. They carried their own mattresses and used them to sleep on during their crossing of the Atlantic. Mary first found work as a domestic helper, then as a worker in a shoe factory in the Chicago area. Gradually she became interested in the trade union. She was elected as a delegate to the Chicago Federation of Labor and finally to the executive board of the International Boot and Shoe Worker's Union. She was sent to Lynn, Massachusetts to reorganize workers who were out on strike.

Miss Anderson's work with the Women's Trade Union League and as general organizer for the Chicago Trade Union League took her many places throughout the East. She became thoroughly familiar with workers and their problems, the background and problems of strikes, and the various methods for preventing and settling such difficulties. Fighting prejudice against women, gaining better working conditions and equal wages were her aims.

The Women's Industry Service in the Department of Labor was established in 1918; the Women's Bureau in the Department of Labor in 1920. It was a natural step to invite Mary Anderson to Washington. Her experience under Woodrow Wilson, Calvin Coolidge, Warren Harding, Franklin D. Roosevelt and Herbert Hoover, and the various secretaries of labor, are of interest. So are her descriptions of the International Congress of Women and various labor organizations.

This book is a record of an important woman's life. Many young people, and especially high school age girls, will enjoy it and will learn much from reading it.

MARIAN RAYBURN BROWN

State Teachers College
Cortland, New York

Woman at Work, The Autobiography of Mary

The Reign of King John. By Sidney Painter. Baltimore, Md.: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1950. Pp. viii, 397. \$5.50.

Much teaching of survey courses in European History on both the high school and college level lacks concreteness and vividness. This condition arises in part from the extreme time limitations imposed upon the conduct of such courses and in part, also, from the general nature of the information found in books readily available to teachers and students alike. Books such as Painter's *The Reign of King John* would help greatly in overcoming the latter source of our difficulty because it is essentially a picture of the feudal monarchy in action. As such it can provide much concrete information by which teachers might illustrate their discussions of the operation of the feudal system in the High Middle Ages.

Dr. Painter traces, in considerable detail, the feudal relations which existed between King John and his magnates; the offices, functions, and personnel of the developing royal administration; and the importance of personality in a system which, as feudalism, was founded explicitly upon human relationships. But the greater value of this book lies in its discussion of the two great conflicts which developed in the reign of King John—that between John and the Papacy over the succession to the vacant see of Canterbury and that between John and his English barons as to the limitations upon the king's power found in the feudal contract. And in the background of each is found an able treatment of the continuing conflict between the Angevin and Capetian houses not merely for dominance, but for survival, in the politics of Western Europe. As everyone knows, John's difficulties with the Church and his barons resulted in Magna Carta. Again this volume is invaluable in depicting the contemporary world from which Magna Carta arose and in analyzing those elements of the charter which were to become of increasing significance in the development of the English constitution.

This is a work of excellent scholarship written in a style marked by brilliant description, succinct analysis, and a delightful sense of humor. It should find its place in college and high school libraries, and it should be read by all who seek concrete and vivid information on

the operations of the political phase of the feudal system.

MAHLON HELLERICH
State Teachers College at Towson
Towson, Maryland

The Police State. By Craig Thompson. New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, Incorporated, 1951. Pp. xl, \$3.00.

The book is very readable and timely. Thompson spent two years in Russia as a correspondent for *Time* and *Life* magazines. Returning to the United States, he gave a series of lectures at Johns Hopkins. The questions asked of him were the kind most people wanted answered about Russia—hence the book.

There is a full description of such subjects as the Politburo, Soviet style elections, the police and Red Army, the economy of the country, the position of women, education, the general cultural level and the press. With world attention centered on the spread of Russian imperialism the section of the book that deals with the pattern of the Soviet seizure of power is very instructive. Thompson lists the following points:

1. There are people who still think it is possible to work with the Communists. The whole of western politics is rooted in the principle of compromise. To the Communists compromise is a stratagem to fool the enemy and gain a more advantageous position.

2. Lenin began with the financial support of a foreign power, Germany. Every Communist coup in Europe since 1944 has had the support of Moscow either in money or in the form of the Red Army.

3. Another stratagem is to charge your adversary with the very thing you intend to do.

4. The technique of the "big lie" used so effectively by Hitler is one of their propaganda techniques.

5. Communists are seldom opposed by their own weapons or methods which are repugnant to those who oppose Communism.

6. History is falsified. Russia is presented as a perfect state. Mistakes are presented as the work of enemies or foreign agents.

7. The Communist party is the most fanatical fifth column in history, infiltrating government, trade unions, and cultural organizations in policy-making positions to further Russia's policies.

This book is directed to those Americans who feel the need for factual accurate answers to the biggest political problem of today.

HARRY FANTZ

Olney High School
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

A Short History of the Far East. By Kenneth Scott Latourette. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1951. Pp. xviii, 715. \$5.25.

Among the American contributors to the literature on the Far East the name of Kenneth Scott Latourette is a hallmark of scholarship. For some thirty-seven years Professor Latourette has been teaching with enthusiasm for and writing with ability about the Far East—that immense area whose destiny is of an importance of almost terrifying magnitude. Dr. Latourette knows eastern Asia and the Chinese language. He has lived in China and was a member of the faculty of Yale in China. His familiarity with his material, his zeal for the history of the Orient, his acquaintance with many specialists in the field, and the acclaim given his previous books are reason for the gratification expressed by mature students at the publication of the 1951 edition of his text.

A Short History of the Far East is intended both for general readers who wish a background for understanding current problems and for students and teachers in quest of a college text for a survey course on the Far East.

The book covers a vast range of history. The volume begins with the earliest recorded history of Japan, China, India, and the lesser states of southeast Asia. Nearly half of the book is devoted to the pre-nineteenth century history of these lands. The second half of the volume contains a more detailed account of the Far East since the years of Western penetration and concludes with the post-war occupation of Japan and the United Nations action in Korea up to December 1950.

Thanks to a trained mind and a refined technique, Professor Latourette has been able to select from a reservoir of historical data the significant trends and essential facts which provide the reader with a connected narrative, minus the onus of discouraging details. Occasionally the reader is surprised at the method of organization which treats, for example, the causes, effects, and sequels to the Russo-

Japanese War in a chapter entitled "Changing China," while a preceding chapter on Japan devotes approximately eight lines to "Territories acquired from Russia" as a result of that war.

There is a complete absence of footnotes, and all the maps are at the end of the book. Helpful bibliographies are provided. The clarity and fluidity of the style, the objective treatment, the attention to economic and cultural as well as political factors, and the space devoted to United States-Far Eastern relations will serve to satisfy the felt need of many Americans who wish some basic material to assist them in understanding the maelstrom of the Orient.

MARGARET T. HALLIGAN

State University of New York
Cortland, New York

Introduction to Political Science. By Joseph S. Roucek, George B. de Huszar, and Associates. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1950. Pp. xiv, 696. \$5.00.

More than two decades ago Professor William B. Munro reported to the American Political Science Association that "there is by

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no means a general agreement as to what constitutes the best introduction to the field of political science;" but he found that "the preponderance of opinion and practice appears to favor the study of American government as the best basis" for the beginning course. A recent survey by the same Association's Committee for the Advancement of Teaching revealed that a course in American government is still "the overwhelming choice" as an introduction to the field of political science, and that the diversity of opinion which Professor Munro noted is as marked as ever.

In recent years, however, a broader course than American government, emphasizing a comparative and functional approach and an appreciation of the political process, has become quite popular in American colleges and universities. The volume compiled by Roucek, de Huszar, and fourteen other qualified authors, is an attempt to meet the need for a text for such a course. For purposes of convenience political science is divided into five branches: political theory, law, the study of government, political forces, and international relations. The last two branches are given fuller treatment than in most comparable texts. Political theory, on the other hand, receives inadequate attention; the section bearing that heading consists of a chapter on the evolution of the state, a penetrating analysis of sovereignty, and a discussion of major contemporary ideologies. The latter chapter is good, but unbalanced. Syndicalism and anarchism are given almost as much space as socialism, communism, or fascism; Catholicism receives two pages, Protestantism three lines, and Mohammedanism two; democracy is not considered to be a major contemporary ideology.

The sixteen collaborators deserve high praise for their ambition, and at least a passing mark for their performance. Inevitably their contributions are of uneven merit; and they attempt to cover so much ground that few of the topics treated can be developed adequately. This is of course a difficulty inherent in the subject. The scope of political science is vast, and any brief survey is bound to be inadequate. Subject to these basic limitations, however, this book may be recommended as a competent introduc-

tion to an important branch of the social sciences.

NORMAN D. PALMER

University of Pennsylvania
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

U.S.A.: *The Permanent Revolution*. By the Editors of *Fortune* in collaboration with Russell W. Davenport. New York: Prentice-Hall and Co., 1951. Pp. xvii, 267. \$5.00.

The Luce publications have never been conspicuous for their modesty in interpreting America to Americans or for their sympathy with American intellectuals — perhaps, of course, this is the basis of their success. In any case, *The Permanent Revolution* does not deviate far from this approach. Its virtues are often marred by a patronizing air that verges on the smug. There is a certain, undoubtedly intentional, irony in the fact that this originally Marxian phrase, the permanent revolution (read "continuing" revolution), has now been adopted and used by the editors of *Fortune*, representing the case for sophisticated conservatism. A nicely balanced modern phrase, it holds out no hope for a foolish Utopia; neither does it relegate human affairs to a completely aimless and vicious struggle for survival.

The editors direct their attack against two great enemies—big government or the totalitarian state and the dangerous alliance between international communism and particular national states. These enemies present the greatest threat to the integrity and development of the individual, which has found its most advanced expression in what the authors call the American Proposition.

The authors are, to be sure, hardly original in their desire to preserve and adapt the American Proposition to the complexities of the modern world. But it is their perhaps debatable opinion that the group within our society that is at present showing the most responsibility and leadership in implementing this ideal is the business community. American capitalism, they contend, has become a popular, responsible system. And it is their firm belief that we possess the seeds of an effective challenge to totalitarianism in this responsible individualism, in the team concept of modern American

capitalism and in increased individual participation in civic affairs.

As the authors point out, this cannot be achieved in a "nationalistic vacuum." Adhering to the viewpoint often referred to as "pessimistic realism," they insist that we must not shrink from playing power politics, though our goals must be clarified both to ourselves and to the rest of the world. They also suggest the extension of the American Proposition through the establishment of an economically integrated Atlantic community. While they deplore our failures in communication and on the operational level of foreign policy, it is unfortunate that they themselves couldn't betray a little more humility in communicating their suggestions. This would seem to be vital to the delicate game of winning friends and influencing allies. But, then, the prosecution of a foreign policy, as they point out, is doubly difficult for democratic nations.

JUSTUS HANKS

University of Maryland
College Park, Maryland

The Political Collapse of Europe. By Hajo Holborn. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951. Pp. xi, 207. \$2.00.

This little volume deserves the close attention of every teacher and student of European history. The author, professor at Yale University, has written a concise and lucid book, rich in historical insight and displaying keen discernment of the major trends of European development during the last 150 years.

Alexis de Tocqueville's prediction of the near end of the dominance of the European nations in world affairs, seemingly belied by Europe's vigorous industrial development and expansionist tendencies in the later part of the nineteenth century, has become a reality by the mid-twentieth century. World War II, the outcome of which was decided by the United

States and the Soviet Union, one a non-European power, the other more an Asiatic than a European state, registered thus "the collapse of the traditional European system." The author questions to what extent this matter "has become common knowledge" (x).

The outcome of this war has proven beyond any reasonable doubt that no western European state, not even all the western European nations together can resist Russia's power. Since the "rump Europe" at present outside of Russian control comprises 270 million people, produces most goods and enjoys the highest standard of living of any area outside the U.S., it follows that this country cannot afford to lose free Europe. Such a loss would also deprive the United States of "many spiritual and intellectual resources that have contributed greatly to American life" (192). On the other hand, the future of a free Europe depends on the willingness of the United States to help in her defense. While European unity is imperative for Europe's defense and also for its economic recovery and economic expansion, Europe "does not have to surrender her other diversified institutions and manners, which constitute her historical heritage, still precious in an age of mass civilization" (193).

The task of the historian, the author holds, consists not merely in "assembling the record of events." He calls "for historical thinking which is something more than mere historical knowledge" (xi). It is also for this reason that this penetrating and thoughtful volume, which exemplifies and stimulates "historical thinking," should prove particularly valuable as a supplement to the general texts in European History. A brief, but selective, Bibliographical Note and an Index enhance the usefulness of the little book.

ALFRED D. LOW

Marietta College
Marietta, Ohio

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Raymond of the Times. By Francis Brown. New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1951. Pp. xxiii, 345. \$5.00.

This is more of a story of the politics of the country than a story of either Raymond or the *New York Times*. Horace Greeley, along with Henry Clay and other great and near great, occupies an important part of the opening chapters.

An effort to tell the incidents in the order of their happening results in an episodic treatment. At other times this biography reaches heights of interest. The incident of the New York riots over the appearance simultaneous of Edwin Forrest and the English actor, William C. Macready, in Shakespearean roles, is described with dramatic excitement.

The best parts of the book are to be found when Raymond is described reporting the wars for his paper, or when he is managing Lincoln's campaign for reelection, or when he is watching the draft riots in New York.

Raymond's political career received a severe blow when he supported the reconstruction policies of his friend, Andrew Johnson.

A complete reading of the book does not result in the reader feeling that he has grown to know the man, Henry Jarvis Raymond, intimately. His family life was not too satisfactory, so there is little opportunity to describe little incidents from his personal life. On the other hand, the book is alive with people who were important to their times and to ours.

Do not look for a well documented account of 1840 to 1869. In its place you may feel that you sat in the Astor House and took part in framing the political program of our nation during one of its most crucial periods. You can live with the times.

ELMER W. CRESSMAN

Jay Cooke Junior High School
Philadelphia, Pa.

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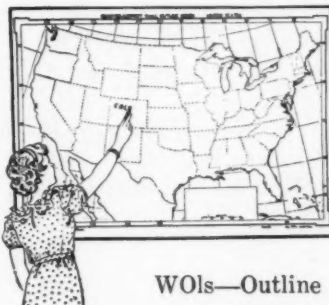
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